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THE FIGHT OFF THE YALU RIVER.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

ELEVEN years ago the United States began building a new navy to take the place of its old that was fast passing away. The progress made has attracted the attention of the world.

We have now, completed and nearing completion, a number of gunboats, cruisers, and monitors, and, also nearing completion, two second-rate and four first-rate battle-ships. We have only two torpedo-boats. Three more were recently authorized and are about to be laid down, but five boats of this class are totally insufficient even for our present fleet.

Congress was strongly urged by the Navy Department at its last session to authorize additional battle-ships and torpedo-boats, and it is believed that public sentiment approves the recommendation. All the works necessary for the carrying out of this programme are in full operation, and such vessels, if now authorized, could be built, armor and armament included, with promptness and dispatch.

Is there anything in the recent naval developments to justify the conclusion that the days of the battle-ship are ended?

Judging from what we see in the newspapers the fight off the Yalu seems to have created a somewhat widespread impression that they are, and that the naval battles of the future are to be

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won by swift unarmored cruisers, armed with powerful guns and fighting at long range.

The Japanese have undoubtedly illustrated afresh the value of sea power. This of course has been taught, time and time again, in lessons familiar to all. The most powerful factor in the downfall of Napoleon, one that operated all the time from 1805 to 1814, was the absolute control of the sea by his arch-enemy, England. He was shut off from transportation by sea, compelled to rely on land communications, and there was no point in the circle of his conquests from the easternmost shores of Italy along the coasts of the Mediterranean to Gibraltar, and thence around the Atlantic and the Channel and the North Sea into the Baltic, where the English could not assail him. The genius of the great conqueror and the wonderful impulse the revolution had given to his soldiery made him master of continental Europe, but he could not hold it. Wherever upon the sea there was a strategic point in his conquered territory there were English fleets, English diplomacy, and English allies, and these finally led first to the downfall at Paris and then to Waterloo.

A more recent, possibly a more forceful, lesson is to be drawn from our own civil war. The Union fleets blockaded the Confederacy and almost starved it to death. They shut it in from recruits and supplies and munitions of war. They cut it in two by their fleets on the Mississippi, and penetrated its vitals along the lines of other navigable streams. They hovered around it, as England hovered around Napoleon and his satrapies, and assailed it wherever it was weakest. When the true history of the conquest of the Confederacy is written it will undoubtedly appear that, in proportion to numbers engaged and expenses incurred, the navy of the United States was a far more efficient factor in the final result than even the armies in the field.

Japan is illustrating the same lesson. By her command of the sea, she outnumbered the Chinese at Ping Yang, and by the battle off the Yalu she seems now, at this writing (Oct. 10), to have acquired such further dominion over the water as to justify her, in the opinion of her Emperor, in landing troops on Chinese soil, and undertaking an invasion. The value of sea power is not, however, the topic this paper is intended to discuss. It is believed that a vast majority of the American people recognize the

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fact that the United States ought to have more power on the sea than is represented by her present navy.

The question of present interest is, When we add to our navy shall we build battle-ships?

In deciding upon vessels of war we are to keep steadily in view the purposes for which they are to be used. Strategy is the "art of determining upon the decisive points in the seat of war, and the lines along which forces must move to reach them." Successful strategy requires swift movement and often over great distances. We must therefore consider in building ships not only their powers of offence and defence, but also their radii of action and speed. When a decisive point in the seat of war has been determined upon, the rapidity with which fleets can be concentrated upon it becomes all important. General Bedford Forrest, the celebrated Confederate cavalryman, when asked what he considered the secret of success in war, answered pithily, "To get there first with the most men."

If unarmored cruisers, when they "get there," can successfully engage battle-ships, then, as their speed is greater and their radii of action by reason of increased coal capacity is also greater, they should undoubtedly be preferred. Not only would they cost less, but they would be of incalculably greater value for purposes of war. Is the news, as we have it now from the Yalu, sufficient to cause us to conclude that an unarmored vessel, having gotten to the battle-ground, can contend against an armored ship?

It is admitted that for a complete understanding of the lessons of this exceedingly interesting fight, much fuller details are necessary than any now at hand, and it certainly is not the purpose of this article to attempt the impossible task of laying down final conclusions about the teachings of a battle, the knowledge of which is as yet so imperfect. The only purpose of this paper is to contend that what seems to be a largely prevalent present impression is not justified by any information now at hand. Certain postulates will also be suggested, which it will be well to bear in mind when we come to reason with the facts more fully before us, for it is believed to be in the highest degree improbable that anything ever can be learned from Yalu that will put an end to the building of heavily armored vessels.

The battle-ship of to-day is not the creature of yesterday. It did not, with its armor, its engines, its guns, its torpedoes, and

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its ram, grow up in a night, like Jonah's gourd. On the contrary it is the evolution of ages. It is true that it is sometimes called, even by naval experts, an experiment. This is for the reason that, as an organized entity, it has never been tested in battle. But such a statement, though it be in itself strictly correct, is nevertheless likely to lead to erroneous conclusions, as there is no important factor generally used in modern battle-ships that was not, before its adoption, thoroughly discussed, *pro* and *con*, by the very brightest intellects that could be brought to bear upon it. These discussions have been enlightened by every physical test, including firing at plates, that could be devised, save only that the completed ship has not been fired at. Nor was this test applied at the Yalu. There was no first-class modern battle-ship there. If there was not, as will hereafter be shown, it is not easy to see how anything can possibly come out of that fight to disturb the general conclusions embodied in such a vessel by the common consent of naval experts after so much and such prolonged study and experiment.

The mind of the naval architect is naturally conservative.

> "*Illi robur, et aes triplex*
> *Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci*
> *Commisit pelago ratem*
> *Primus.*"

A dread of the great deep seems natural to the human mind, and few have been so prone to caution and so slow to adopt innovations as the architect who builds the ships that are to encounter the dangers of the sea and of battle. It is astonishing how slowly, until of recent years, the art of shipbuilding has advanced; how much the barge in which Cleopatra sailed down the Cydnus to welcome Antony was like a modern yacht, and how similar the lines of the vessels with which the Greeks fought the Persians at Salamis, the Christians fought the Turks at Lepanto, and the English fought the French and Spanish at Trafalgar were to the lines of the warships of to-day. The changes the centuries have wrought in ships have been not essentially in shape, but in size, in motive power, in armament, and lastly in material. From the earliest times there has been unceasing effort to improve naval methods, and though warships have always in some sense measured the civilization of nations, yet the art of the shipbuilder has been, certainly until recently, a laggard in the progress of the world.

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The Greeks had at Salamis better vessels than the Persians. The people who led the world in painting, sculpture, and architecture were better shipwrights and better workers in metals than the barbarian invaders, and the Grecian galleys had therefore stronger prows with which to ram an enemy, and their soldiers had better swords and shields and spears. These, with the courage and superior tactical skill of the Greeks, gave them victory over the superior numbers of the Persians, but the Persians and the Greeks both propelled their boats by oars. The galley period of naval warfare lasted until the 14th century was well under way.

Then came in the gun upon the vessel propelled by sail,—the gun to stay indefinitely, perhaps as long as naval warfare shall last upon the earth, and the sailing man-of-war to float its flag in triumph over the seas for four centuries.

The varieties of sailing men-of-war were infinite. So it had been with the galley, and though it always appeared that swift galleys and light swift sailing-ships had their uses and were indispensable to war fleets, yet experience has shown, in every period of naval warfare, and under all conditions, not only that boats and ships that were relatively strongest and best built were superior in battle, but that upon such superiority in battle, and not upon swiftness of movement, depends dominion over the sea. So it was at Salamis; so it was subsequently, when the Romans drove the Carthaginians from the sea; so it was with the powerful galleys which contributed so greatly to the victory of the Christian allies over the Turks at Lepanto; and the careful student of the war of 1812 will find that the many triumphs in naval duels won by the Americans were due in no small degree to the excellence of our ships and their armament.

Not only has experience taught that the be stand strongest ships, other things being equal, must win in single combat, but it has shown that successful battles must be fought by ships in line or other definite and methodical formation. Ships fighting without coöperation, or coöperating in confused masses without system or order, cannot hope for success against well-directed, systematic lines. Not only is some line of battle a necessity, but it is equally a necessity that a line of battle should be if possible composed of line-of-battle ships. Nelson put behind him at Trafalgar his weaker vessels, and so it

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must always be. No fleet commander who can avoid it will expose his line to be broken by opposing a weaker to a stronger ship. Naval authorities, it is believed, agree without exception that these principles must obtain throughout all naval warfare, whatever may be the changes in the nature of ships or in the range of weapons, and therefore naval architects, during this century, full of so many startling developments, have been watching intently every discovery that could throw light upon the question what a naval vessel should be that is to hold its place in line in the day of battle. That it is to be propelled by steam, which has finally driven out sail power; that it is to be seaworthy and habitable, and capable of steaming to the points where it is likely to be needed with as much rapidity as is consistent with the other functions required of it; and that it is to combine in itself as much power offensive and defensive as may be—all experts seem agreed.

The gun after it got upon the ship advanced as slowly as the ship. The battles of the civil war in America thirty years ago were fought out with cast-metal, muzzle-loading guns, and cast-metal, muzzle-loading guns had been used for four centuries. Breech-loading small arms were in 1861 in their infancy, and wrought iron had only four years before begun to be associated with ordnance. The Parrott gun, with a heavy band of wrought iron around its breech, was the precursor of the modern built-up steel gun.

Iron, before our civil war, had begun to be used in shipbuilding. The U. S. S. "Michigan," still representing the government on the Lakes, was built of iron in 1844, but so conservative was naval architecture that sixteen years afterward there were very few iron vessels afloat. The Emperor Napoleon, in 1861, had put three and four inches of iron on the sides of a war vessel, and theorists were discussing plans of heavy armor for battle-ships when the destruction of the "Cumberland" and the "Congress" by the "Merrimac," and then the fight between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor," startled the world. The one was an object-lesson proving that certainly at that time unarmored vessels could not fight armored ships; the other seemed to show that the plain iron armor of that day was superior to the gun. The shipyards and foundries of Europe went to work to build new navies. The gunmakers set about devising new guns and inventing new powder and new projectiles with which to pierce this armor.

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Guns grew stronger and longer, and powder was made slow-burning, thus enabling larger charges to be used; and projectiles, in order that they shall not go to pieces on the armor, have come to be made of highly tempered steel. These improvements in guns and projectiles have been met by constant improvements in armor, which is now made of steel, toughened by an admixture of nickel and hardened by new processes.

This contest between the power of the gun to pierce, and the power of armor to resist, has gone on year after year. At one time it is proclaimed that armor has won, at another that the gun is master. The contest is not even yet at an end. The impression is gaining ground, however, that the gun has thus far the advantage; that is to say, that no armor a ship can carry, in extent sufficient to protect all her vital parts, can resist a point-blank blow from the highest-powered gun a ship can carry. Even if it be admitted that this is true now to the fullest extent, and further that it is to be thus for all time, still it does not follow that armor is to be abandoned, and that the unarmored vessel carrying heavy guns is to be the battle-ship of the future. It still remains to be said for the armor, as against the high-powered gun, that the gun that will pierce an armor plate at point-blank range on the proving-ground with unerring certainty, cannot be counted on to achieve the same result in the ever-varying conditions of battle, as the target is moving and shifting, and the angle at which the blow will be given will be largely a matter of accident. But omitting this consideration, and admitting even that armor would be no protection against very heavy guns, still the argument does not stop. The best ship can carry only a few of these, and their fire is necessarily slow. There remains to be encountered the terrible hailstorm of projectiles coming from rapid-fire guns and machine guns, and even from modern muskets, which could pierce the sides of an unarmored cruiser at the distance perhaps of half a mile. The improvement in guns of small calibre, in the range and rapidity of fire of 4, 5, and 6-inch guns, has been quite as marked as in heavy ordnance. A 5-inch gun, with a range of five miles, can deliver fifteen shots, while the 12-inch fires once,—the one firing at the rate of five shots per minute, the other at the rate of one shot in three minutes. A 4-inch gun, with a range of four miles, can fire eight aimed shots per minute, or twenty-four shots while a 12-inch gun fires once.

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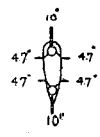
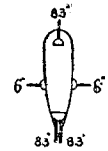
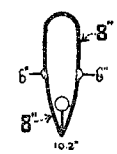
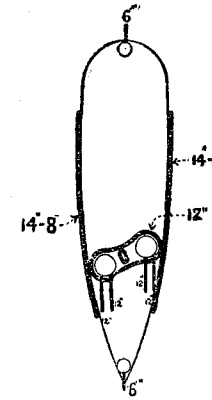
COMPARISON

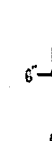
BATTLE OFF





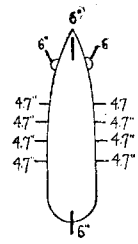


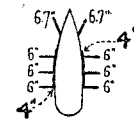


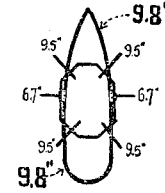


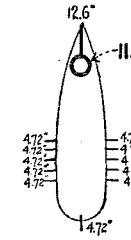
NAME.	CHAO YUNG	CHING YUEN	PING YUEN	CHEN YUEN	LAI
CLASS.	GUN VESSEL	PROTECTED CRUISER	COAST DEFENSE VESSEL	BATTLE SHIP	COAST D
DISPLACEMENT.	1350.	2300.	2600.	7430.	2
	SUNK.				

CH









NAME.	AKABI	YOSHINO	HIYEI	FUSO	ITSUKUSHIMA
CLASS.	GUN VESSEL	PROTECTED CRUISER	ARMORED CRUISER	ARMORED CRUISER	COAST DEFENSE VES
DISPLACEMENT	614.	4150.	2250.	3710.	4280.
	INJURED.		INJURED.		

JA

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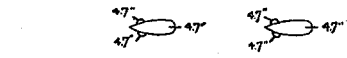
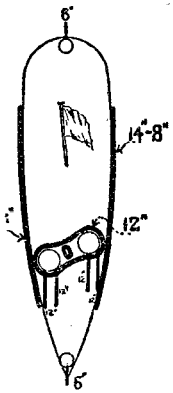
SSELS ENGAGED

VER, SEPT. 17, 1894.

TORPEDO BOATS

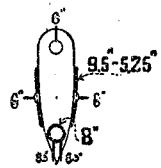


Name	KWANG-TING	KWANG-KI
Class.	Gun Vessel	Gun Vessel
Displacement	1030	1030.



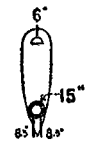
TING YUEN
Battle Ship
7430.

INJURED.

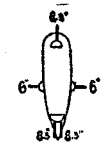


KING YUEN
Coast Defense Vessel
2900.

SUNK.

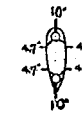


CHI YUEN,
Coast Defense Vessel
2355.



CHIH YUEN
Protected Cruiser
2300

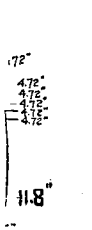
SUNK.



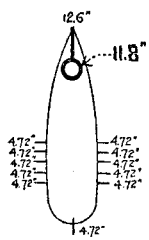
YUNG WEI
Gun Vessel
1350

SUNK.

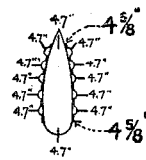
FLEET.



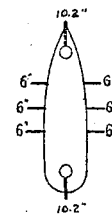
IIMA
se Vessel



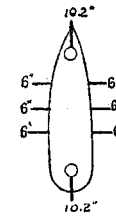
HASIDATE
Coast Defense Vessel
4280.



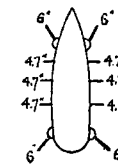
CHIYODA
Armored Cruiser
2250



NANIWA
Protected Cruiser
3650.



TAKACHIHO
Protected Cruiser
3650



AKITSUSHIMA
Protected Cruiser
3150.

JURED.

FLEET.

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A Hotchkiss revolving cannon, throwing a six-pound projectile accurately for three miles, will deliver its fire at the rate of twelve per minute, or thirty-six times as rapidly as the 12-inch gun.

Any one of these projectiles, whether from a rapid-fire, five-inch, or four-inch gun, or from a Hotchkiss gun, would pierce an unarmored cruiser through and through anywhere, certainly above its protective deck, and any one of such shots delivered into the complicated gun-mount of a ten or twelve inch gun would put the gun out of action. The storm of projectiles that would be rained upon a ship in battle from "secondary batteries," composed of these rapid-fire and revolving guns, carried by all well-armed ships, whether armored or unarmored, would be turned off from the best modern armor wherever it should strike it, as were the projectiles of the "Merrimac" from the tower of the "Monitor," whereas these same shots would, if they should strike its guns or gun-mounts, almost immediately disable the great guns of an unarmored vessel.

The effectiveness of modern ordnance is not matter of conjecture. At what is called the battle—or it should be more properly termed the massacre—of Min River in 1884, the French fleet, composed of eight vessels, annihilated within fifteen minutes eleven Chinese vessels which had no efficient protecting armor. It is true that the Chinese vessels and guns were awkwardly handled, that many of their pieces could not be brought into action, but the incident shows conclusively how terribly destructive is the accumulated energy of modern rapid-fire guns. Gordon's machine guns in the Soudan were so destructive that the Soudanese were absolutely unable to work their pieces. If it be true, then, that modern armor would successfully resist projectiles from these guns—and repeated experiments seem to leave no doubt that it is—then the armor must be worth its cost that would defend against them. It would be a large cruiser that would carry three guns that could be relied upon to pierce the armor of a battle-ship. These could deliver, say, one shot per minute. The armored vessel, besides its great guns, would be able to deliver from its secondary batteries, say, fifty shots per minute, any one of which, striking the complicated and unprotected machinery with which the great guns of a cruiser are loaded and worked, would disable them instantly. It would

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seem to be desperation to put into the line of battle a ship at such a disadvantage. Indeed a careful consideration of the destructiveness of machine-gun fire would tend to the conclusion that the future, instead of seeing battle-ships built without armor, will see all cruisers protected, at least with light armor like that upon the "New York." If it comes to be admitted on all hands that armor will protect against all but the heaviest guns, it will be then, in a fight between two battle-ships, a question of give and take, just as it was in former times, say, between the "Constitution" and the "Guerrière."

Still another almost incalculable advantage in favor of the battle-ship is its greater stability and steadiness as a gun platform. The advocates of the unarmored cruiser as a fighting-ship, if there are any among experts, would, while distributing most of it in additional coal and motive machinery, insist upon putting some at least, of the weight the battle-ship is made to carry in armor, into additional heavy guns. These guns, though they should be fairly distributed along the deck, must be at a considerable elevation above the water, and so would make the ship top-heavy and uneasy in the water during the shock of battle. The battle-ship, on the other hand, having its heavy armor, much of it, on its sides and extending well down into the water, becomes the steadiest gun platform that can be floated. The charge of a 12-inch gun weighs nearly 1,300 pounds. Only about sixty of them per gun are carried; this and the time required in firing, not to speak of economy, which is not to be thought of in the supreme moment of battle, all alike proclaim the importance of accuracy in firing these guns. To hit or to miss with one of these shots may be to win or to lose a battle upon which empire depends.

Our actual knowledge about the battle of the Yalu and its results is at the present writing lamentably meagre. When we know what ships were engaged on both sides, we know enough to say with confidence that it does not show that an unarmored cruiser can successfully encounter a battle-ship. The material for the experiment was not present.

Comparing all the accounts, it is safe to say that both sides fought bravely, that the results favored the Japanese, as the Chinese suffered much greater loss of life and lost four vessels, while the Japanese are believed to have had probably three ships severely injured. The battle seems to have been fought at long range,

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CHINESE SHIPS ENGAGED IN THE ACTION OFF THE YALU RIVER.

Name.	Class.	Displacement, tons.	I. H. P.	Batteries.		Torp. tubes.	Armor.			Max. speed. knots.	Remarks.
				No. and class of guns.	Total wt. of fire, lbs.		Hull.	Battery.	Deck.		
Chen Yuen ...	Battle-ship	7,430	7,300	IV. 12.0″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	3,126	3	Belt, Partial, 8-14″	Barbette, 12″	2-3″	15.5	Completed 1883, Germany.
Ting Yuen...	Battle-ship	7,430	7,200	IV. 12.0″ B L. II. 6.0″ B. L.	3,126	3	Belt, Partial, 8-14″	Barbette, 12″	2-3″	15.4	" 1883, "
King Yuen....	Coast defence vessel	2,900	5,000	II. 8.3″ B. L. III. 6.0″ B. L.	954	4	Belt, Partial 5.25-9.5″	.....	.....	15.0	" 1887, "
Lai Yuen.....	Coast defence vessel	2,900	5,000	II. 8.3″ B. L. III. 6.0″ B. L.	954	4	Belt, Partial 5.25-9.5″	.....	.....	15.0	" 1887, "
Ping Yuen....	Coast defence vessel	2,600	2,400	I. 10.2″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	637	4	(Belt) 8″	Turret, 5″	2″	10.5	" 1890, Fuchau, China.
Chi Yuen. ...	Coast defence vessel	2,355	2,800	II. 8.3″ B. L. I. 6.0″ B. L.	730	4	.....	Barbette, 15″	1.5-3″	17.5	Completed 1884, Germany.
Chih Yuen....	Protected cruiser	2,300	6,000	III. 8.3″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	1,124	4	.....	.....	2-4″	18.5	" 1887, England.
Ching Yuen...	Protected cruiser	2,300	6,000	III. 8.3″ B. L. II. 6.0″ B. L.	1,124	4	.....	.....	2-4″	18.5	" 1887, "
Yung Wei. ..	Gun vessel	1,350	2,800	II. 10.0″ B. L. IV. 4.7″ B. L.	1,180	3	.....	.....	Partial 2-5″	16 2	" 1881, "
Chao Yung ...	Gun vessel	1,350	2.800	II 10.0″ B. L. IV. 4.7″ B. L	1,180	3	.....	.....	Partial 2-5″	16.2	" 1881, "
Total, 10...		32,915	47,300	12.0″ = 8 10.2″ = 1 10.0″ = 4 8.3″ = 12 6.0″ = 17 4.7″ = 8 Total = 50	14,135	36					

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JAPANESE SHIPS ENGAGED IN THE ACTION OFF THE YALU RIVER.

Name.	Displ'cement, tons.	Class.	I.H.P.	Batteries. No. and class of guns.	Batteries. Total wt. of fire, lbs.	Torp. tubes.	Armor. Hull.	Armor. Battery.	Armor. Deck.	Max. speed, knots.	Remarks.
Matsushima..	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XII. 4.72″ R. F.	1,416	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.0	Completed, 1891, France.
Itsukushima..	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XI. 4.72″ R. F.	1,370	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.8	" " "
Hasidate.....	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XI. 4.72″ R. F.	1,370	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.0	" 1894, Japan.
Fuso.....	3,717	Armored cruiser	3,500	IV. 9.5″ B. L. II. 6.8″ B. L.	1,460	..	Belt, 9-5.8″	9-8″	.....	13.2	" 1878, England.
Chiyoda.....	2,450	Armored cruiser	5,600	X. 4.72″ R. F.	460	3	Partial belt, 4.6″	.....	2-1″	19.0	" 1890, "
Hiyei.....	2,250	Armored cruiser	2,490	III. 6.8″ B. L. R VI. 6.0″ B. L. R.	1,028	2	Partial belt, 4″	.....	.....	14.0	" 1878, "
Naniwa.....	3,650	Protected cruiser	7,235	II. 10.2″ B. L. R, VI. 6.0″ B. L. R.	1,499	4	.....	.....	2-3″	18.9	" 1886, "
Takachiho....	3,650	Protected cruiser	7,500	II. 10.2″ B. L. R. VI. 6.0″ B. L. R.	1,499	4	.....	.....	2-3″	17 9	" " "
Yoshino.....	4,150	Protected cruiser	15,000	IV. 6.0″ B. L. R. VIII. 4.7″ R. F.	760	5	.....	.....	1.75″ to 4.5″	23.0	" 1893, "
Akitsushima..	3,150	Protected cruiser	8,400	IV. 6.0″ B. L. R. VI. 4.7″ R. F.	670	4	.....	.....	2-3″	19.0	" 1894, Japan.
Akagi.....	614	Gun vessel	700	I. 8 2″ B. L. R. I. 4.7″ R. F.	354	..	.....	.....	.....	13.0	" 1890, "
Total, 11.....	36,462		66,025	12.6″ = 3 10 2″ = 4 9.5″ = 4 8.2″ = 1 6.8″ = 5 6.0″ = 26 4.72″ = 59 Total.. 102	11,886	34					

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from 1,000 to 5,000 yards. The Japanese admiral appears to have chosen the fighting distance, and he probably preferred the long range because he knew his ships, having most of them little or no protection, could not stand pounding, and he believed his gunners to be the better marksmen. The event seems to have justified his tactics.

Torpedoes appear to have played no part. If either fleet had been as much distressed as its adversary has represented, when night had fallen the victor might, with a few swift torpedo-boats, have finished under cover of the darkness the work of destruction. The fact that nothing of the kind was attempted is significant.

It is believed we have correctly the names of all the ships engaged, not counting torpedo-boats. If so, then the accompanying tables show accurately the nature and class of every vessel including armor, armament, when and by whom built, and every other essential.

It will be seen that the Japanese had of tonnage 36,462, the Chinese 32,915. The total weight of metal thrown at one discharge by the Japanese was 11,886 lbs., Chinese 14,135 lbs. The Chinese had eight 12-inch, four 10-inch, and one 10.2-inch guns, while the big guns of the Japanese were three 12.6-inch, four 10.2-inch, and four 9.5-inch. The heavy guns of the Chinese were all built in 1883–84, as were the vessels which carried them. The guns were good enough, however, to have sunk or disabled every ship in the Japanese fleet, unless by a bare possibility the armor of the "Fuso" could have resisted them at long range, if only they had thrown their projectiles accurately.

The three 12.6-inch guns of the Japanese were of the very best make, built in 1891. The Italians have and the English have a few 15-inch and 16-inch guns afloat, and our battle-ships are armed with 13-inch guns, but no nation is now beginning the construction of naval guns larger than 12-inch. A high-powered 12-inch gun is considered everywhere by experts equal to the requirements of a first-class battle-ship. The three 12.6-inch guns, one on each of the three largest Japanese ships, were all well protected by steel turrets 11.8 inches thick, and they had tubes, 9.8 inches thick, through which ammunition was hoisted. If these guns had sunk every ship in the Chinese line the fact would not have proven that armor such as is being put to-day

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upon our battle-ships is useless or that it would not be worth in the day of battle every cent of its cost.

Turning from the guns to the armor with which the vessels of the two fleets were protected, the Chinese ship that had a belt of 8 inches from stem to stern left the fight, so far as we know, uninjured. So did the two ships "Chen Yuen" and "Ting Yuen," which had about 60 per cent. of their belts protected by armor from 14 to 8 inches thick, though the "Ting Yuen" had her large guns disabled. One of the two so-called armored ships having the least protection, the "King Yuen" and the "Lai Yuen," which had about 25 per cent. of their lengths covered with armor from 9.5 to 5.25 inches, was sunk, and the other was badly injured. The "Chih Yuen," "Chao Yung," and the "Yung Wei," which had no armor, were sunk.

Now, turning to the Japanese fleet, the only armored vessels they had were the "Fuso," with a complete belt from 9 to 5.8 inches thick, which was uninjured; the "Chioda," 60 per cent. of its length protected by a belt 4.6 inches thick, also uninjured; and the "Hiyei," with only 25 per cent. of its length belted with 4-inch armor, which was injured. The other injured vessels of the Japanese were the "Akagi," unprotected, and the "Matsushima," the flagship, which had no protection except for its one big gun.

Certainly there is nothing in these facts to induce the conclusion towards which so many writers seem to have been straining, that instead of battle-ships we should rely on cruisers as fighting-vessels; and yet the above is the substance of all that is known at this writing, October 10, about the battle off the Yalu that would enable us to judge of the efficiency of modern navies. Another table is inserted showing at a glance the nature and extent of armor on each vessel.

The truth is, so many wonders have been accomplished during the present century that we are perpetually on the lookout, expecting to be astonished; and nothing is now so attractive to the public as a sensational discovery that on some point, it matters not what, the world is all wrong, and the people who think they know and call themselves experts are simply a lot of ignorant pretenders.

When during the Chilian war the two torpedo-boats belonging to the Balmaceda Government sank the Blanco Encalada, quite a

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number of writers began to contend that the torpedo-boat was to entirely supplant the battle-ship. But after a little thought and a modicum of inquiry it was ascertained that the torpedo-boats had simply done, under favoring conditions, what they were expected to accomplish—shown that they were to be useful implements of war. So when the lamentable accident to the "Victoria" occurred, the press was crowded with articles commending the ram as the chief weapon of battle-ship; but the discussion that followed soon developed the fact that the ram of the "Camperdown" had accomplished the purpose for which it was intended, sunk the vessel its ram came in contact with, that every well-designed modern ship of war is a ram, and that a battle-ship in addition combines every other known means of offence and of defence. It is not possible to say what changes may be wrought in its present features, but it is safe to predict that, while naval warfare shall remain, ships will be built with the view of taking their places in line of battle, and that such ships will never discard armor so long as it can be expected to afford protection against any considerable proportion of an enemy's projectiles.

When we get all the possible facts from the Yalu action, though they need not be expected to abolish, they may yet help us to improve the battle-ship. One question of doubt is whether additional protection is not necessary to prevent the pieces of shells, exploding on the deck, from injuring the machinery below and even piercing the bottom of the vessel; this it is hoped to get light upon.

Another disputed point is as to whether it is safe to follow the general practice of extending the armor over what are called the vitals of the ship, and leaving the ends to rely upon compartments to keep the ship afloat. This practice is bitterly opposed by some of the best authorities. Naval experts will welcome the light, if any, that may be let in on this question.

But, however much or little the naval architect may get from Yalu, that battle carries one lesson our country must heed, viz.: that unless either China or Japan is to be wiped off the map as an independent nation, the United States are to have west of them two nations each steadily increasing its naval power, while our trade relations with both are rapidly becoming more intricate and more complicated.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

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THE ORIENTAL WAR.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, S. KURINO.

IN commenting upon the war between Japan and China I must confess that I find the task more difficult than I anticipated when I undertook it. The fact that recourse to this method of utterance is in some sense a violation of diplomatic usage and tradition does not constitute all the difficulty. At a time like this, when such grave issues hang in the balance, an apparent indiscretion of this nature may be forgiven to one who seeks to appeal to intelligent public opinion, not in a disputatious spirit, but with firm confidence in his country's cause, and with the purpose of making its rightfulness clear to others. The doubt I have to overcome is more formidable than any question of propriety, and arises from the fear that the office which I have the honor to hold may cause too much significance to be attached to words which have no official weight, but which are merely the expression of personal opinion. If those who do me the favor to read these lines will bear this in mind, they may rest assured in turn that no effort will be spared on my part to free what is herein said from any trace of prejudice or unseemly partisanship.

Every loyal Japanese naturally hopes for his country's success in the present struggle. After that the desire nearest to his heart must be the wish that the intelligent, thinking world shall understand and appreciate the weighty reasons which have caused Japan to allow her quarrel with China to be submitted to the arbitrament of war. No one understands better than the Japanese government and the Japanese people that, no matter how serious the quarrel, war should be the last recourse, to be resorted to only when every other mode of settlement has failed. It would be a sad thing for them if, even amid the plaudits which

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now greet their victories, they were not certain that right is on their side. It is precisely because we feel that right *is* on our side that we have gone so far and ventured so much in the present crisis.

This assertion naturally brings to mind a statement that has not infrequently been made concerning the causes of the war. It has been charged that Japan is imbued with a spirit of jingoism; that she courted war with China and did nothing to avoid it; and that this national tendency was reinforced by the necessity of seeking foreign conquest in order to avoid complications which threatened domestic revolution. Nothing could be farther from the truth than this charge. The most charitable excuse to be made for it is the total lack of knowledge of Japan's real condition upon which it rests. It has its origin in a complete misapprehension of the extent and effect of the political agitation which has on several occasions occurred in Japan since the establishment of a parliamentary government. The gravity of the charge must be my excuse for a moment's digression.

The transformation through which Japan has passed during the past four decades is a story that has been often told. Although the harsher among our critics do not admit all the claims we think our progress has entitled us to make, no one will say that we have not gone far and sacrificed much to attain our ideal. Nor can any one claim that our designs have been carried out in a haphazard or desultory fashion. The same object has been held consistently in view throughout, the elevation of Japan to a place among the sisterhood of civilized states. It would have been fatuitous to hope that so many and such great changes could have been made without some disturbance and agitation; but our country has passed through the ordeal without serious harm, and each step forward has been an advance towards greater enlightenment, greater liberty, and more strongly assured national prosperity. The throne has a firm foundation in the affection and reverence of the people, and no act of our Emperor has endeared him more to his loving subjects than the voluntary and unsolicited surrender of a portion of the Imperial prerogatives for the purpose of establishing a constitutional form of government. That surrender was not the result of any sudden political exigency, but was the full fruition of a plan graciously promulgated by his Majesty more than twenty-five years ago.

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A parliament implies parties, and these the new order of things has naturally and properly brought to Japan, with all the heated political contests to which even favored lands like this are not strangers. But at no time since the first parliament met has the stability of the State been threatened, and at no time has the government been menaced by revolution. We are adapting ourselves to the new order of things to the best of our ability, and, I think I can safely say, with a very fair degree of success.

To notice another and a similar charge, which has been often repeated, it can be denied with equal emphasis that Japan, in undertaking this war with China, has been moved by a vain-glorious desire to usurp the leading rôle in the East, or, as a distinguished writer has put it, to "play to the gallery." Japan has long recognized the fact that, so far as Korea is concerned, her interests and the interests of China are substantially identical. Neither needs that country for any purpose of practical aggrandizement, and self-protection dictates to both a friendly and helpful attitude toward their weaker neighbor. The consistent course of my government ever since this question has come prominently to the front proves the truth of this statement. In 1875, in 1882, and again in 1884, Japan had ample reason for making war, if conquest had been her object. That she did not do so can only be reasonably ascribed to her desire to adhere to the line of action she had mapped out for herself, and which she has followed undeviatingly. If China had joined her loyally and effectively in carrying out that policy, there would have been no war, for there would have been no Korean question.

The author to whom I have already alluded, whom natural aptitude, close study, and brilliant literary ability have combined to fit for the task of dealing in a masterly manner with Eastern questions (I hardly need say I refer to Mr. Curzon), has said that China regretted the surrender of her suzerainty over Korea, as consummated by the negotiation of the Korean treaties, and sought to retrieve her position by interfering in Korean affairs in order to demonstrate that her supremacy was unimpaired. Of the propriety and dignity, not to say the utility, of the methods which she adopted to accomplish this end,—the surreptitious maintenance of an armed force in Korea, the forcible abduction and deportation of the Tai-wan-Kun, the secret politi-

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cal intrigues set on foot by Chinese agents, the petty criminal spite shown to the remains of Kim-Ok-Kiun,—I leave others to judge. Of the unhappy results which can be directly traced to this insincere and mischievous course, the present war is an eloquent witness.

It should not be forgotten that Japan's interest in Korea is neither "academic" nor "sentimental." She surrendered any claim she might have had to suzerainty when she concluded the treaty of 1876. In lieu of that ancient claim she has secured by legitimate means interests in Korea second to those of no other nation. In addition to these interests, geographical position and the resultant considerations of national defence, make the affairs of Korea of as much moment to her as those of Egypt or of Afghanistan are to Great Britain. Self-respect, self-interest, and self-protection forced her into the position she assumed, after she had done all that was consistent with national dignity and honor to settle her differences with China and to avoid an actual rupture.

Japan and China have a great deal in common, and in the past Japan owed much to China. But the two peoples differ greatly in many ways, and of recent years their paths have diverged more and more widely. I have already said something of the progress of Japan since she emerged from a state of almost complete isolation. The sturdy conservatism of China is not less a subject of wonder. The difference between the two peoples consists in this : that the Japanese realized the perils of their former condition, and sought to obtain the benefits of western civilization ; while the Chinese are perfectly contented to remain as they are, and have no desire to depart from traditional methods. The practical results of these diverse national tendencies have been signally emphasized by recent occurrences. The success that has thus far crowned the arms of Japan, for example, has been attributed to the warlike spirit of her people. In a measure this is correct, but to a greater extent Japan's success is due to laborious and patient adherence to a systematic plan of military organization as a component, but by no means the principal, part of the general scheme of national development and progress. The ancient samurai of Japan were conspicuous for their bravery and warlike accomplishments, but they did not by any means form the bulk of the nation, and many, perhaps the majority, of those who are now serving in the army

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and navy of Japan are from that part of the population which under the ancient feudal *régime*, wherein the rights and duties of all classes were minutely prescribed and rigorously observed, did not even have the privilege of bearing arms.

China, on the other hand, has men and ships and abundant resources, and no one can truthfully accuse her people of cowardice. The history of Gordon alone would be sufficient refutation of such a charge, for it proves conclusively that even although their system of ethics may render the Chinese averse to the profession of arms, that system can on occasion be laid aside with very excellent results. And, moreover, if recent events have shown that China has now ventured upon war with soldiers badly armed, poorly drilled and ill provisioned, it is not because there has not been an ample show of preparation for war in China within the past few years. The figures are not at hand, and it would doubtless be impossible to obtain them, but I am certain that I do not err when I state that China for many years has spent far more money than Japan upon her army and her navy. Nevertheless, under the system which prevails in China in all branches of the public service, such expenditures apparently count for little in time of real need. With a form of government which even the invading conqueror was forced to adopt ; with a code of morals which has been esteemed worthy of the highest commendation; and certainly with no lack of natural intelligence or of executive ability, China finds that these avail her nothing, because of the corruption which has permeated every portion of the body-politic.

It may perhaps be thought by some to be in bad taste to thus criticise one's enemy. But I can sincerely disclaim any thought of a pretence to superiority over those whose motives and actions I am attempting to analyze. The facts I recite are patent to all ; the lesson they teach has an important bearing not alone upon the present struggle, but also upon the events which led to it. It shows us that China, with all her warlike preparations and with all the power and prestige which her immense population and her great riches give her, is not capable of adequately defending herself against an enemy numerically much weaker than herself and not possessing a tithe of her wealth. Yet this is the government which assumed to control the destinies of the Korean kingdom, to guard it against aggression, and to protect it in the paths of peace and prosperity. If China can do so little for herself in her

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own hour of need, if the faults of her rule become so glaringly apparent at the first touch of adversity, what, we may ask, could she do for her whilom *protégé*, aimlessly yet earnestly striving for better things, save to check every aspiration for improvement, to perpetuate every ancient evil, and finally to surrender the poor victim, a sheep ready for the shearer, to the first comer strong enough to enforce his demands?

There is another phase of the war between Japan and China upon which a certain amount of stress has been laid. It has been predicted that although Japan might at first be victorious, China's hoarded wealth and teeming millions would in the end overwhelm her adversary. It is not given to every man to be a prophet, or the son of a prophet, and war is not a safe subject upon which to hazard prophecy. Of such predictions it is sufficient to say that they would be notable for the ignorance they display as regards the ordinary progress of warfare, were it not for the still more extraordinary theory which they involve on the subject of national redemption. They assume, for example, that the Chinese administration, permeated as it is by corruption and incapacity, is to spring into rejuvenated vigor and efficiency under the spur of disaster and defeat.

They take it for granted, also, that Japan will stand idly by while this is going on, without seeking to profit by the advantages which her arms have won for her. To say the least of it, the assumption is a violent one. Of what effect, it may be asked, is China's vast reserve of strength if her rulers do not know how to utilize it? If after years of preparation and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the Chinese Government can only muster a comparatively small force of trained soldiers, or gather together not more than a fragmentary part of the stores and munitions obtained at such great cost, who will say that better results can be achieved in the midst of the distress and confusion of serious reverses? Such an assumption is purely conjectural, and would hardly be worthy of serious notice, did it not involve another hypothesis; that is to say, that Japan has entered upon a war of conquest and of selfish aggrandizement. A war of that kind must necessarily be protracted, and it is only in such a war that this supposititious recuperative power would have the opportunity of displaying itself. There is nothing either in the course of events or in the declarations of the Japanese Government to justify such

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a supposition. Certainly that is not the view which the Japanese people take of the matter. We are not waging a war of conquest or of aggrandizement, but fighting for a principle which involves our own safety and wellbeing. If we had challenged China to this conflict with only the advantage which our military superiority gives us, and if we continued the contest from mere greed of conquest, we might have reason to dread the recuperative power which wealth and numbers give, and, even more, the disapproval which sooner or later overtakes him who provokes an unjust quarrel.

For proof that Japan has never sought to provoke such a quarrel we can refer to our efforts during the past quarter of a century to establish a cordial understanding with China. The mutual benefit of friendship and of a helpful and neighborly spirit between two nations who have so many interests in common has been one of the motive powers of our state policy. This has been the sentiment of the men who have done most to develop and to direct public opinion in Japan, and our leading statesmen and thinkers have attempted to guide the nation's course upon these lines. But their advances have met with cold suspicion or with words that had no tangible result. The attitude of China has been most peculiar, at times apparently friendly, frequently tinged by a hardly concealed hostility, and never marked by the genuine warmth of sincere good-feeling. She has seemed incapable of understanding or of forgiving Japan's abandonment of ancient standards. She has hovered between perplexity and disdain, and at times has assumed the airs of a stern schoolmistress astonished and dismayed by the incomprehensible actions of an errant scholar. Japan has borne this treatment with equanimity, confident in the belief that finally even Chinese conservatism must yield to the impact of modern ideas. But the task has not been an easy one, and there have been occasions when her patience has been taxed to the utmost. The crisis came in Korea, where, after years of endeavor to establish a state of things which would be beneficial to all three countries, Japan found herself confronted by a manifestation of arrogance and duplicity which threatened to perpetuate a chaotic condition of affairs wherein lurked the gravest dangers to herself, and to China, also, if she had but realized it. To have yielded then would have been to abandon interests that were vital to the wellbeing of the empire. Japan did

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not hesitate, but stood firmly on her rights, leaving to China the responsibility of deciding whether the difficulty should be honorably and peacefully adjusted or whether it should be allowed to drift to an open rupture.

The decision has been made, and the two leading nations of the East, after centuries of peace, are arrayed against each other in open hostility. Both have hazarded much upon the fortunes of war, but it seems to me that the world at large will gain much more by the victory of one than by that of the other. For I trust I may say, without appearing to be boastful, that this war is in some measure a struggle between the forces of modern civilization and the *vis inertiæ* of a conservatism the strongest and most stubborn the world has ever seen. The advance of the one may be checked by the stolid resistance of the other, yet in that case not Japan alone, but in the end China also, will be the loser, for victory in her case will give renewed life to that spirit of intolerance which has hitherto been an insuperable bar to her progress, while defeat will make the truth clear even to the most obstinate and cause the obstacles to national development to disappear in the conflict. I do not mean to say that it is Japan's design to act as the regenerator of China any more than it is her purpose to wage a war of conquest or of selfish aggrandizement. The one attempt would be as presumptuous as the other would be culpable. Japan is contending for the protection of her rights, and for that alone; but, unless all auguries fail, in her victory in this war the truly sincere friends of China may see the brightest hope for the future of that country.

S. KURINO.

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HOW A LAW IS MADE.

BY SENATOR JOHN L. MITCHELL, OF WISCONSIN.

MORE than a hundred years ago an English jurist, whose fame as a writer increases with each year, said in his *Commentaries* that there was too much legislation. The wisdom of that saying is more forceful now than it was a century ago, when the population of England was small, a new era of civilization beginning, and this country had just emerged from the throes of the Revolution. Our country needed a good deal of legislation then, but the representatives sent to our national Congress had in mind the idea which was crystallized by the English jurist. Even though a new nation was building, there was not too much legislation then. The Constitution preceded all laws, and every schoolboy knows of the months spent by our patriotic forefathers in preparing that great paper. Every word, phrase, clause, paragraph, and section was in its turn considered, and the result was an instrument that commands the admiration of the whole civilized world.

Most of the framers of the Constitution were elected members of the first Congress. Their wisdom and patriotism did not desert them, and every bill that became a law was the subject of active debate by all. To prevent the hasty consideration of any measure, rules were adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, but while it is true that many of these early rules still remain in the manual of each House, their force has been lost in the needs and demands of increased legislation. It is seldom, indeed, that a bill is deemed important enough to arouse general debate, and frequently bills are rushed through Congress which have been hastily considered and are possessed of little merit. In such cases personal solicitation by the promoters of a bill obtains consideration for it more frequently than its merits demand. It does not necessarily follow that the course now pursued is im-

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proper, but with the great mass of business that comes before each Congress it is impossible for an individual member to give his attention to every bill that is introduced, or even to give his time to every bill reported.

In the Fifty-second Congress there were over fifteen thousand bills introduced in the Senate and House. They were referred, as they were in the earlier Congresses, to the proper committees. Thousands of them were considered by these committees, and reported back to their respective Houses either favorably or unfavorably, and hundreds of them were passed, but of the whole number introduced only a small percentage became laws.

The course of a bill through Congress is most interesting. Take for instance a private bill that has had its origin in the Senate (and for the purpose of illustration the Senate will do as well as the House, for in both of these bodies the system is practically the same). A private bill is, as the term indicates, for the relief of some individual, while a general or "public" measure is far-reaching in its effect. In nine cases out of ten the Senator who introduces a private bill is solicited to do so by one of his constituents who wants a pension, or who desires the charge of desertion removed from his military record, or who has a claim against the Government of some kind or the other. The bill may or may not be properly draughted, but whether it is or not, it is usually introduced by the Senator without careful consideration. Any error in language or intention is left to the committee to correct by amendment. There is a legend printed on the bill that the Senator first asked and obtained consent to introduce the bill; but, in fact, the Senator does nothing of the kind. He rises in his place during the morning hour, when the introduction of bills is in order, and simply reads the title of the bill and asks that it be referred to the proper committee. The title of the bill is then read by the reading clerk, and the reference is made in a perfunctory way by the President of the Senate. That is called the first reading of the bill. It is true that an objection might be raised to the first reading of the bill, but that has not been done for years, if, in fact, it was ever done. However, this is a safeguard against objectionable legislation. The reason, perhaps, why the rule has never been enforced is that no bill is ever considered in the Senate that has not first received consideration by one of the committees of that body.

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It is not difficult to get a bill introduced in the Senate. If the Senator does not care to be responsible for it, he states that he introduces the bill by request, and it is so printed. There are many people, ignorant of the course of legislation, who believe that the mere introduction of the bill insures its passage, and it is a lamentable fact that there are Senators who give false hope to their constituents by simply introducing the measure, sending a copy of it to the claimant, and then dismissing the whole matter from their minds. The life of a bill terminates with the Congress in which it was introduced, and it is customary with some Senators to reintroduce in the new Congress all of the old bills which were not favorably acted upon. In the Fifty-second Congress one Senator from a Middle State, probably through the zeal of his private secretary, introduced an old bill four times. In each case the bill was referred to the same committee and was for exactly the same relief.

When the bill is referred by the President of the Senate to the committee, it is usual for the chairman of that committee to send it to the proper executive department for the purpose of obtaining information that will justify either a favorable or an unfavorable report. This is the course when the bill is new ; but if it should be a measure that has been before Congress at some previous time, the archives of the Senate are searched for the purpose of ascertaining what prior action had been taken upon it. When adverse action has been taken on a bill, two or three Congresses are sometimes permitted to intervene before it is re-introduced. In the mean time new evidence may have been secured or the old facts may be susceptible of a stronger presentation and in a more favorable light.

The old bill is usually accompanied by a mass of papers that have upon them the earmarks of preceding Congresses. These papers cannot be withdrawn from the files of the Senate if at any previous time the measure has been reported upon adversely. They are retained in evidence of that adverse action, but if a measure has been reported favorably the papers may be withdrawn upon a motion of a Senator. Old claims may or may not be meritorious, but they are invariably regarded with suspicion as well as dislike. The multitudinous duties of a Senator leave him but little time to delve into musty papers and to prepare written reports which will stand the test of the committee, let alone the Senate But there was once a Senator who did take the time to

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thoroughly investigate a number of these stale claims. He found what none of his predecessors on the committee had found, that there was undoubted merit in them. It is true that he sat up for many nights to make these investigations, and that it took him a long time to write his reports. But each report contained such a lucid and concise presentation of the facts, and was so logical and convincing in its reasoning, that the bills were passed by the Senate, and became laws. This Senator made so lofty a reputation among his colleagues in dealing with these old claims that when a vacancy occurred in the Federal judiciary they united in urging the President to nominate the industrious Senator to that high position, and to-day he is a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is a hard matter to get a bill out of committee, for several reasons. Most of the committees of the Senate are composed of nine members. These members are in turn appointed sub-committees, to which are assigned the various bills which have been referred to the whole committee. In the course of a Congress these references to the working committees of the Senate consist of from three to nine hundred measures. All of this means a great deal of exacting work. Perhaps in the mass of bills referred to an individual Senator, as a sub-committee, there is a large percentage which is not deserving of favorable recommendation. These bills are usually held back, out of consideration to the Senators who have introduced them. If a report is urged upon any one of them it means unfavorable action, and that is never desired, as an unfavorable report practically kills the bill. But outside of these bills there are many meritorious measures which lie dormant until the sub-committee in charge is stirred up to make a report upon them. Sometimes a Senator who has become interested in a private bill will appear before the committee, make a statement of the case and personally appeal to have the matter acted upon at once. He may go so far as to write the report on the bill, and, if a majority of the committee favor its passage, the report may be adopted.

When a bill has passed the committee, the Senator who has prepared the report submits the bill to the Senate, amended or not, as the case may be. The bill is reprinted with its amendments, and is given a calendar number. The report is also printed and given the same calendar number, the calendar being

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a record of each of the bills in the order in which it is reported back to the Senate with the favorable or unfavorable recommendation of the committee. At this period in the course of the passage of the bill, the claimant feels hopeful. He believes his measure is nearly a law, for if it is passed by the Senate, he will then have to get it only through the House. Perhaps he has anticipated the action of the Senate, and has had a similar bill already introduced in the House. His efforts may have been successful in that body and the bill may be on the House calendar also. If such is the case he believes that he stands near success. But the work of getting the bill on both the Senate and House calendars has been the work of months. The committees usually meet but once a week, and then remain in session not over an hour and a half. For weeks at a time no legislative business may be considered by the committee in charge of his bill, on account of nominations made by the President. In the present Fifty-third Congress the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, on March 1, 1894, had not given up one session to the consideration of legislative business, but this action is not usual. However, the private claimant finds that weeks have passed into months, the long session ended, and the short one begun before he gets his bill on the calendar of each house. There is not much time for legislation of a private character in the short session, except at the beginning. The appropriation bills for carrying on the government for the ensuing fiscal year must be prepared, and, as they have the right of way over all other legislation, a private bill must take its chances. But being on both the Senate and the House calendars, it has a favorable prospect.

The claimant then urges the Senator who has had charge of the bill to call it up at some odd moment for consideration and passage. This is not difficult in the Senate, but in the House only the greatest popularity with the Speaker and the Representatives can secure such a favor. Sometimes in the Senate, under one of its rules, that body will proceed to the call of the calendar, as it is termed, and, if there be no objection to the bill, it is only a question of how rapidly it can be read to secure its passage. This reading of the bill at full length is called the second reading of the bill. It is then open to amendment, and, if none be made, the title is read (which is called the third reading), and the bill is passed. When the bill has passed either the House or

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the Senate, it becomes an act, and is signed by the Clerk of the House if it be a House bill, and by the Secretary of the Senate if it be a Senate bill.

The Senate bill has now become an act and is again reprinted, but still retains its identity as a Senate measure. The only changes are in the heading, which reads "in the House of Representatives," and in affixing the date of passage and the name of the Secretary of the Senate. While the reprinted bill is correct in every particular, it is not recognized as the original, which eventually finds its way into the bound files of the Senate. From the time of the organization of the Senate up to the beginning of this Congress, the original act was engrossed on blue sheets of paper, each line being numbered for convenience in quickly determining where amendments were to be inserted. It was only by the hardest work on the part of the engrossing clerks that, under this old custom, the work of the Senate could be kept up. Now the original act is printed. When the act is ready to be transmitted to the House, the Secretary or one of his clerks takes it and appears before the Speaker, who suspends business until the message from the Senate is received. If the claimant has been active he will have interested some member of the House in the passage of the bill by the Senate, and will have requested him to call up the House bill on the calendar, and ask unanimous consent of the House to have the Senate bill substituted. Sometimes this consent is given, but more frequently it is not. The member may ask that the Senate bill lie on the Speaker's table, and wait for a more favorable opportunity to call up the bill. If he again calls up the bill and fails to get consideration, the bill is referred to its committee, and is generally considered promptly. It may be that the language is not expressive of the ideas and policy of the House committee, and it is amended. The bill is then reported back with a recommendation that it pass. It is still a Senate bill, and goes on the calendar of the House under that heading. Should there be an amendment, the bill is reprinted, the omitted part having a line run through the word. Type specially cast for this purpose is used. If there be anything added, the words are printed in italics.

During the course of a Congress many bills are reported. The House calendar in the last days of a Congress is usually a thick,

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voluminous document, and it would be a matter of impossibility to dispose of all of the bills which still remain on the calendar. It is customary, therefore, for the House to assign to the several important committees one or two days each for the consideration of the business which these committees deem most pressing. Only a few of the many bills can be selected to be pushed to a final passage. The claimant must still be on the alert to secure for his bill a place among those which shall be given this great favor. If his bill passes, it goes back to the Senate, with the amendments made by the House. A new complication then arises if the Senate does not at once accede to these amendments, and a conference is then asked between the two houses. The short session is near its close. Night sessions may be necessary—and they usually are—for the purpose of getting the big appropriation bills through. But, nevertheless, desperation spurs the claimant on. He urges the conferrees to get together and settle their differences. Sometimes this is done quickly, and, even though a conference report is privileged and may be called up any time for consideration, other conference reports are pressing, and above all loom the appropriation bills and their innumerable conference reports. The private bill must wait its chance. The representative in charge of the bill in the House solicits the Speaker for recognition, and the name goes on the list at the foot of fifteen or twenty others, who in turn give way whenever the Sundry Civil, the Indian, or the Legislative and Executive appropriation conference reports come in. All these reports provoke discussion. Congress is drawing near its close and yet the conference report on the private bill has not yet been called up. At last an opening is secured. The report is called up, adopted, and the member in charge rushes to the clerk's office to secure its speedy transmittal to the Senate. Perhaps the President and his Cabinet have already arrived at the Capitol, and are in the red-room on the Senate side, when the conference report comes to the Senate. It is there adopted, but the claimant must not relax his exertions. The act must then be enrolled, and the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House must affix their signatures to the parchment. This means that the Secretary of the Senate must "message" the bill to the House. It is hurriedly signed, and "messaged" back to the Senate. Already the clock that is supposed to mark the hour of 12,

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mid-day, when the session of Congress ceases, has been turned back two or three times, in order to get the bill before the President. The Senator who has had charge of the bill goes with the chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, who carries all the bills passed by the Senate to the President. No time has been given to compare the bill as enrolled with the copy of the bill as it came out of the conference committee. It may be full of errors, for, in the rush of copying, grave mistakes are often made which vitiate the full force and effect of the bill, but that is a chance which the private claimant must take. When the act is laid before the President, a few hurried words, needed to explain the purport of the bill, are spoken. If they are not satisfactory, a "pocket veto" follows, which means that the President has declined to approve the law, and it therefore dies with the Congress. This frequently happens. But if the President is satisfied, he affixes his signature, his executive private secretary records the number of the bill in his book, and then rushes out of the doorway to appear calmly in front of the President of the Senate and announce that the President has approved Senate bill No. 4,896. The private bill has become a law, and the claimant is at rest.

JNO. L. MITCHELL.

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FRENCH VERSUS ANGLO-SAXON IMMORALITY.

BY MAX O'RELL.

Two years and a half ago, at a Chicago dinner-table, the conversation turned upon the subject of the coming World's Fair and its probable effect upon America in general and Chicago in particular. Great was my amusement at hearing one of the guests relate that a certain Chicago lady had given it as her opinion that the Exposition was likely to do a great deal of harm, because it would attract numbers of foreigners, and the morals of Chicago would be corrupted. The French especially were particularly feared by this Chicago lady, who expressed her determination to be absent from the great city during the World's Fair, in order to escape contamination.

Chicago morals! You will excuse me if I roared, won't you?

As one who has knocked about the world a great deal and seen many foreigners at home, I should like to be permitted to say a few words on this to me very interesting subject, for I am getting pretty sick of hearing idiotic imputations of this kind from the Anglo-Saxon representatives of pharisaism.

And, at the threshold of these remarks, let me state my firm conviction—one that deepens every year as I see more of the world—that one nation is neither better nor worse than another, but only different, that is all: different in its ways, in its tastes, in its virtues, and in its vices. Would that, all over the world, this were the teaching to be heard from every platform and every pulpit! One nation is not more virtuous or more immoral than another; it is merely different in its way of showing its virtues and hiding its vices. Nations are like individuals: in their morality, they are hypocritical or sincere; in their immor-

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ality they are sly, ugly, unclean, above-board, honest, picturesque, coarse, refined, as the case may be.

So much for the world in general. Now to particularize.

Let us take the French nation as representing the Latin race, and compare it with the Anglo-Saxon one as found in America, in England, and the British colonies. I have no intention of holding up my countrymen as models of virtue, having already affirmed my belief in the universal frailty of man, in which I believe as firmly as in the universal goodness of woman; but just as a sin confessed is half atoned for, I claim that such vice as may exist—as does unfortunately exist—in France loses some of its ugliness by its refusal to masquerade as virtue.

To take the question of drink, for instance.

France is a country where temperance is properly understood, where man uses and enjoys the divine gift of wine with which a fertile soil has supplied him, and he is not ashamed to own it. He uses and enjoys it, as becomes a man, moderately. *Temperance* means *moderation*, and has never meant *total abstinence*. When a Frenchman takes his glass of wine, he does so *coram populo*. When the Parisian takes his absinthe (few Frenchmen outside of Paris do take it), he does not hide himself. He takes it on a table outside the café, and, much as I deplore the increasing consumption of this beverage, I have never seen a Frenchman take it until he gets tipsy.

In the British colonies, at the hotels, you will see men take tea or water with their meals. That is what they do in the presence of their fellow-creatures; but they spend the evening at the bar quietly, sadly imbibing whiskey till they are unable to get to their bedrooms unaided. In the prohibition States of America, I have seen men drink liquor, like castor-oil, out of a little graduated glass, in the drug stores. Everybody in America knows that this is so. Once a day, after lecturing, I take a little stimulant, a glass of hot grog. In the prohibition States I had to take it behind the counter of a chemist, or down in the cellar of the hotel. On one occasion it was sent to my bedroom, carefully wrapped up in brown paper, with a label, "The mixture as before."

This is truly edifying!

It seems to me that the sly obtaining and drinking of spirits in this fashion is likely to do as much harm to a young man's moral character as ever the dram itself could do to his body. But

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this is always the attitude of Anglo-Saxon pharisaism: "Let us hide certain failings out of sight, and pretend to the world that they do not exist, while we draw attention to our virtues and pray for the conversion of the French."

In this spirit, London vaunts itself that it possesses no state-visited houses of ill-fame, whilst, all the while, its great West-End thoroughfares are literally swarming with poor, wretched creatures from sunset to early morn—a sight unparalleled in the world. Whence this overpowering impulse to wrap the pharisee's cloak around one and cry, "Stand aside, for I am holier than thou"? It is an attitude ugly and unchristian enough in the most virtuous person, but despicable and disgusting in those who use the cloak as a cover for a multitude of sins.

I have often had Anglo-Saxons hurl at my head the number of French unfortunates who are to be seen in the West End of London. My answer has always been that if they were not less appreciated in France than in England, in France they would undoubtedly remain. Surely it is not the climate and atmosphere of London that tempt them to cross the English Channel.

French immorality is often refined, artistic, Attic. Anglo-Saxon immorality is gross, brutal, and debasing, and perhaps, on that account, less attractive and therefore less dangerous.

Whoever has known anything of life in Paris knows that the young man who has a *liaison* plays at an imitation of the best days of matrimonial life, which does not entail the laying aside of all self-respect and respect for woman. He takes his *Fifine* for walks, drives, and picnics. He takes her to the restaurant, to the theatre, and is not ashamed, I am sorry to say, to be discovered in her company. For a time he brings this woman up to his level, and behaves in her presence almost as he would in the presence of a respected wife. The Anglo-Saxon, for the time being, behaves "like a brute beast that has no understanding." As with the drinking of whiskey in the prohibition States or the taking of absinthe in France, so with woman in Anglo-Saxon land or in France.

"All this is very well," will perhaps exclaim some Anglo-Saxon; "but look at your Moulin-Rouge and Jardin-de-Paris and such places! See how they flourish!"

Alas, yes, they rather flourish, I grieve to say, but thanks to whom? One stroll around any one of them will convince you

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that but for the foreigner these places would have to close their doors. Englishmen, Americans, Spaniards, Italians, foreigners from all parts of the world, come to Paris on pleasure bent, crowd those places, and return to their respective countries with "impressions" of France and her people. But the people of France are not there. These resorts entirely depend on the visitors to Paris, just as do the venders of most objectionable illustrated sheets that are sold on the Boulevards. The last time I was in Paris as I was buying a paper of one of the women who keep the kiosks where the daily papers are sold, a man came and, in broken French, asked her for a copy of one of the above-mentioned sheets, representing *danseuses* in all sorts of attitudes, and with which hoarse huxters pester the frequenters of the cafés.

"We do not sell those things (*ces saletés-là*)," replied the good woman. And, turning to me, she added: "Only foreigners buy *that*" (*Il n'y a que les étrangers qui achètent ça*).

The young Englishman or American, as he peruses this literature, is quite convinced that he is reading what the French enjoy, and he goes on concluding that the French are a very immoral people.

To be sure, there are thousands and thousands of foreigners who come to Paris every year to visit its magnificent museums, hear its new plays, enjoy its lovely drives, especially from England and America, I am glad to say; but, alas, how many also, because they have heard of resorts of gayety in that city, come only to visit its objectionable places where no Frenchman who respects himself a little ever sets foot! There are thousands of foreigners who are acquainted with what is most refined, beautiful, and lofty in French literature; but how many are there who know M. Zola's name and who, without being able to appreciate the literary value of his works, fling at our faces second-hand criticisms on their so-called immorality? These Anglo-Saxons will tell you that M. Zola handles very shocking subjects in his novels, and that, in France, he is the most popular writer of the day. You would think, perhaps, that they therefore avoid reading the works of M. Zola. What are the facts? The manager of the greatest French bookselling firm in London told me that his house alone had sold over thirty thousand copies of *La Terre*, by far the most objectionable of the great writer's novels, and that no book had ever sold to that extent in London. Figures like these speak for themselves. And they

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even say a great deal more than appears on the surface. The French are an artistic people. In literature, elegant style and dramatic power stand first and foremost with them. M. Zola being undeniably a great artist and a most powerful dramatist, his countrymen read him for the sake of his style and of his wonderful attainments, even when loathing his subjects and regretting the manner in which he handles them. But, often, this is not why Anglo-Saxons read him, for I venture to say that not one foreigner out of a thousand is able to appreciate half the beauty of his works in the matter of style. Frenchmen read and enjoy the writings of M. Zola *although* they are sometimes coarse (I deny that they are immoral); Anglo-Saxons often read them *because* they expect to find them so.

Now all this is very plain speaking; but I was not born an Anglo-Saxon, and I think that one of the greatest treats in life is to be able to look at people straight in the face, and to speak the good, healthy, plain, honest truth.

To return to Chicago, from whence I started. The day after the dinner-party, I mentioned the Chicago lady's pious regret at the threatened influx of foreigners to a friend of mine, who is a sincere hater of self-righteousness. He invited me to follow him and take one glimpse at hidden Chicago. That glimpse was a terrible revelation, although I had never had any illusion concerning the relative blackness or whiteness of Chicago or of any other large centre of population. Alas, Chicago is like any other great city: it has its very black spots, and if you make careful inquiries as to where they are, and if you get properly directed, there is a chance for you to find them out; with this difference between French and Anglo-Saxon cities—that in the former there exists very little more than what you see; whereas, in the latter, with the exception of London, most of it is hidden.

As I said before, man is not better in one part of the civilized world than in another: he is different.

It is absurd for the crock which contains unutterable dives and home-grown Nautch girls to call attention to the hue of the kettle whose darkest spots are gaudy gardens frequented by gay, cheerful, and elegant *demi-mondaines*. Vice that is gay is not hopeless. Sombre, unsmiling vice is incurable.

It is high time that international stone-throwing should cease, now that all the world travels and can see for itself. It is not alone

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to outsiders like myself that the ugly stone-throwing virtuousness of Anglo-Saxons appears as the great offence of an otherwise great people. In one of the most earnest and stirring sermons it has ever been my fortune to hear, Archdeacon Farrar brought home the charge to the English, comparing their rigid, angular self-righteousness to that of the elder brother in the parable of the prodigal son. The excellent Chicago lady is only a humble private in the army of the stone-throwing Christians. It is an army appalling in its numbers, whose commanders fill the world with self-applause, and so much assurance do they put into the manner of doing it that even charitable and true Christians are carried away and have a lurking suspicion that the foreigner cannot hope to ever rival the English in goodness.

Oh, my dear Anglo-Saxon friends, do take it out of your heads that you are more moral than other people. Be a little modest. Try to be satisfied and comforted by the thought that, probably, you are not worse. You have performed wonderful achievements. You are little by little quietly securing all that is worth having on the surface of the earth. Do leave us something—our character, for instance. You push us aside in every part of the globe. It would really be so kind of you not to take away from us the hope that one day we may have a little corner in the abode of the seraphs.

I know the West-End and the East-End of London; I have seen Argyle street, in Glasgow; High street and the Canongate, in Edinburgh, on Saturday nights; I have visited the dives of Chicago, the dens of New York and San Francisco; I have seen the gambling-hells of Denver and the rest. I have seen Paris in all its nooks and corners, and I really cannot make up my mind that Anglo-Saxon land scores in the comparison.

Everywhere, in every shape or form, immorality and vice are detestable, and I condone them neither in the French nor in the Anglo-Saxon. To show that, when the Frenchman is immoral, he is not more so than the Anglo-Saxon, but *differently so*, is the only aim of these remarks.

MAX O'RELL.

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POSSIBILITIES OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN REUNION.

BY CAPTAIN ALFRED T. MAHAN, U. S. N., D. C. L., LL. D., AND CAPTAIN LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, ROYAL NAVY.

CAPT. MAHAN:

THE words kinship and alliance express two radically distinct ideas, and rest, for both the privileges and the obligations involved in them, upon foundations essentially different. The former represents a natural relation, the latter one purely conventional—even though it may result from the feelings, the mutual interests, and the sense of incumbent duty attendant upon the other. In its very etymology, accordingly, is found implied that sense of constraint, of an artificial bond, that may prove a source, not only of strength, but of irksomeness as well. Its analogue in our social conditions is the marriage tie—the strongest, doubtless, of all bonds, when it realizes in the particular case the supreme affection of which our human nature is capable; but likewise, as daily experience shows, the most fretting when, through original mistake or unworthy motive, love fails, and obligation alone remains.

Personally, I am happy to believe that the gradual but, as I think, unmistakable growth of mutual kindly feelings between Great Britain and the United States during these latter years—and of which the recent articles of Sir George Clarke and Mr. Arthur Silva White in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are pleasant indications—is a sure evidence that a common tongue and common descent are making themselves felt, and breaking down the barriers of estrangement which have too long separated men of the same blood. There is seen here the working of kinship—a wholly normal result of a common origin, the

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natural affection of children of the same descent, who have quarrelled and been alienated with the proverbial bitterness of civil strife, but who have all along realized—or at the least have been dimly conscious—that such a state of things is wrong and harmful. As a matter of sentiment only, this reviving affection might well fix the serious attention of those who watch the growth of world questions, recognizing how far imagination and sympathy rule the world; but when, besides the powerful sentimental impulse, it is remembered that beneath considerable differences of political form there lie a common inherited political tradition and habit of thought, that the moral forces which govern and shape political development are the same in either people, the possibility of a gradual approach to concerted action becomes increasingly striking. Of all the elements of the civilization that has spread over Europe and America, none is so potential for good as that singular combination of two essential but opposing factors—of individual freedom with subjection to law—which finds its most vigorous working in Great Britain and the United States, its only exponents in which an approach to a due balance has been effected. Like other peoples, we also sway between the two, inclining now to one side, now to the other; but the departure from the normal in either direction is never very great.

There is yet another noteworthy condition common to the two states, which must tend to incline them towards a similar course of action in the future. Partners, each, in the great commonwealth of nations which share the blessings of European civilization, they alone, though in varying degrees, are geographically so severed from all existing rivals as to be exempt from the burden of great land armies; while at the same time they must depend upon the sea, in chief measure, for that intercourse with other members of the body upon which national well-being depends. How great an influence upon the history of Great Britain has been exerted by this geographical isolation is sufficiently understood. In her case the natural tendency has been abnormally increased by the limited territorial extent of the British Islands, which has forced the energies of their inhabitants to seek fields for action outside their own borders; but the figures quoted by Sir George Clarke sufficiently show that the same tendency, arising from the same cause, does exist and is operative in the United States, despite the diversion arising from the immense

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internal domain not yet fully occupied, and the great body of home consumers which has been secured by the protective system. The geographical condition, in short, is the same in kind, though differing in degree, and must impel in the same direction. To other states the land, with its privileges and its glories, is the chief source of national prosperity and distinction. To Great Britain and the United States, if they rightly estimate the part they may play in the great drama of human progress, is intrusted a maritime interest, in the broadest sense of the word, which demands, as one of the conditions of its exercise and its safety, the organized force adequate to control the general course of events at sea; to maintain, if necessity arise, not arbitrarily, but as those in whom interest and power alike justify the claim to do so, the laws that shall regulate maritime warfare. This is no mere speculation, resting upon a course of specious reasoning, but is based on the teaching of the past. By the exertion of such force, and by the maintenance of such laws, and by these means only, did Great Britain, in the beginning of this century, when she was the solitary power of the seas, save herself from destruction, and powerfully modify for the better the course of history.

With such strong determining conditions combining to converge the two nations into the same highway, and with the visible dawn of the day when this impulse begins to find expression in act, the question naturally arises, What should be the immediate course to be favored by those who hail the growing light, and would gladly hasten the perfect day? That there are not a few who seek a reply to this question is evidenced by the articles of Mr. Carnegie, of Sir George Clarke, and of Mr. Arthur Silva White, all appearing within a short time in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. And it is here, I own, that, though desirous as any one can be to see the fact accomplished, I shrink from contemplating it, under present conditions, in the form of an alliance, naval or other. Rather I should say: Let each nation be educated to realize the length and breadth of its own interest in the sea; when that is done the identity of these interests will become apparent. That identity cannot be firmly established in men's minds antecedent to the great teacher, Experience; and experience cannot be had before that further development of the facts, which will follow the not far distant day when the United

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States people must again betake themselves to the sea, and to external action, as did their forefathers alike in their old home and in the new.

There are, besides, questions in which at present doubt, if not even friction, might arise as to the proper sphere of each nation, agreement concerning which is essential to cordial co-operation; and this the more, because Great Britain could not reasonably be expected to depend upon our fulfilment of the terms of an alliance, or to yield in points essential to her own maritime power, so long as the United States is unwilling herself to step in and assure, by the creation of an adequate force, the security of the positions involved. It is just because in that process of adjusting the parts to be played by each nation, upon which alone a satisfactory co-operation can be established, a certain amount of friction is probable, that I would avoid all premature striving for alliance, an artificial and possibly even an irritating method of reaching the desired end. Instead, I would dwell continually upon those undeniable points of resemblance in natural characteristics, and in surrounding conditions, which testify to common origin and predict a common destiny. Cast the seed of this thought into the ground, and it will spring and grow up, you know not how—first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. Then you may put in your sickle and reap the harvest of political result, which as yet is obviously immature. How quietly and unmarked, like the slow processes of nature, such feelings may be wrought into the very being of nations, was evidenced by the sudden and rapid rising of the North at the outbreak of our Civil War, when the flag was fired upon at Fort Sumter. Then was shown how deeply had sunk into the popular heart the devotion to the Union and the flag, fostered by long dwelling upon the ideas, by innumerable Fourth of July orations, often, doubtless, vainglorious, sometimes perhaps grotesque, but whose living force and overwhelming results were vividly apparent, as the fire leaped from hearthstone to hearthstone throughout the Northern States. Equally in the South was apparent how tenacious and compelling was the grip which the constant insistence upon the predominant claim of the State upon individual loyalty had struck into the hearts of her sons. What paper bonds, treaties or alliances, could then have availed to hold together people whose ideals had drifted so far

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apart, whose interests, as each at that time saw them, had become so opposed?

Firmly though I am convinced that it would be to the interest of Great Britain and the United States, and for the benefit of the world, that the two nations should cordially act together on the seas, I am equally sure that the result must not only be hoped but also quietly waited for, while the conditions upon which such cordiality depends are being realized by men. All are familiar with the idea conveyed by the words "forcing process." There are things that cannot be forced, processes which cannot be hurried, growths which are strong and noble in proportion as they imbibe slowly the beneficent influence of the sun and air in which they are bathed. How far the forcing process can be attempted by an extravagant imagination, and what the inevitable recoil of the mind you seek to take by storm, is amusingly shown by Mr. Carnegie's "Look Ahead," and the demur thereto of so ardent a champion of Anglo-American alliance—on terms which appear to me to be rational though premature—as Sir George Clarke. A country with a past as glorious and laborious as that of Great Britain, unprepared as yet, as a whole, to take a single step forward toward reunion, is suddenly confronted—as though the temptation must be irresistible—with a picture of ultimate results which I will not undertake to call impossible (who can say what is impossible?), but which certainly deprives the nation of much, if not all, the hard-wrought achievement of centuries. Disunion, loss of national identity, changes of constitution more than radical, the exchange of a world-wide empire for a subordinate part in a great federation—such *may* be the destiny of Great Britain in the distant future. I know not; but sure I am, were I a citizen of Great Britain, the prospect would not allure me now to move an inch in such a direction. Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.

The suggestions of Sir George Clarke and of Mr. White are not open to the reproach of repelling those whom they seek to convince. They are clear, plain, business-like propositions, based upon indisputable reasons of mutual advantage, and in the case of the former quickened, as I have the pleasure of knowing through personal acquaintance, by a more than cordial goodwill and breadth of view in all that relates to the United States. Avoiding criticism of details—of which I have little to offer—

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my objection to them is simply that I do not think the time is yet ripe. The ground is not yet prepared in the hearts and understandings of Americans, and I doubt whether in those of British citizens. Both proposals contemplate a naval alliance, though on differing terms. The difficulty is that the United States, as a nation, does not as yet realize or admit that it has any strong interest in the sea; and that the great majority of our people rest firmly in a belief, deep rooted in the political history of our past, that our ambitions should be limited by the three seas that wash our eastern, western, and southern coasts. For myself, I believe that this, once a truth, can no longer be so considered with reference even to the present—much less to a future so near that it scarcely needs a prophet's eye to read; but even if it be but a prejudice, it must be overcome before a further step can be taken. In our country national policy, if it is to be steadfast and consistent, must be identical with public conviction. The latter, when formed, may remain long quiescent; but given the appointed time, it will spring to mighty action—aye, to arms—as did the North and South under their several impulses in 1861.

It is impossible that one who sees in the sea—in the function which it discharges towards the world at large—the most potent factor in national prosperity and in the course of history, should not desire a change in the mental attitude of our countrymen towards maritime affairs. The subject presents itself not merely as one of national importance, but as one concerning the world's history and the welfare of mankind, which are bound up, so far as we can see, in the security and strength of that civilization which is identified with Europe and its offshoots in America. For what, after all, is our not unjustly vaunted European and American civilization? An oasis set in the midst of a desert of barbarism, rent with many intestine troubles, and ultimately dependent, not upon its simple elaboration of organization, but upon the power of that organization to express itself in a menacing and efficient attitude of physical force, sufficient to resist the numerically overwhelming, but inadequately organized, hosts of the outside barbarians. Under present conditions these are dyked off by the magnificent military organizations of Europe, which also as yet cope successfully with the barbarians within. Of what the latter are capable—at least in will—we have from time to time, and

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not least of late, terrific warnings, to which men can scarcely shut their eyes and ears ; but sufficient attention is hardly paid to the possible dangers from those outside, who are wholly alien to the spirit of our civilization; nor do men realize how essential to the conservation of that civilization is the attitude of armed watchfulness between nations, which is now maintained by the great states of Europe. Even if we leave out of consideration the invaluable benefit to society, in this age of insubordination and anarchy, that so large a number of youth, at the most impressionable age, receive the lessons of obedience, order, respect for authority and law, by which military training conveys a potent antidote to lawlessness, it still would remain a mistake, plausible but utter, to see in the hoped-for subsidence of the military spirit in the nations of Europe a pledge of surer progress of the world towards universal peace, general material prosperity, and ease. That alluring, albeit somewhat ignoble, ideal is not to be attained by the representatives of civilization dropping their arms, relaxing the tension of their moral muscle, and from fighting animals becoming fattened cattle fit only for slaughter.

When Carthage fell, and Rome moved onward, without an equal enemy against whom to guard, to the dominion of the world of Mediterranean civilization, she approached and gradually realized the reign of universal peace, broken only by those intestine social and political dissensions which are finding their dark analogues in our modern times of infrequent war. As the strife between nations of that civilization died away, material prosperity, general cultivation and luxury flourished, while the weapons dropped nervelessly from their palsied arms. The genius of Cæsar, in his Gallic and Germanic campaigns, built up an outside barrier, which, like a dyke, for centuries postponed the inevitable end, but which also, like every artificial barrier, gave way when the strong masculine impulse which first created it had degenerated into that worship of comfort, wealth, and general softness which is the ideal of the peace prophets of to-day. The wave of the barbarians broke in—the rain descended, the floods came, the wind blew, and beat upon the house, and it fell ; because not founded upon the rock of virile reliance upon strong hands and brave hearts to defend what was dear to them.

Ease unbroken, trade uninterrupted, hardship done away, all roughness removed from life—these are our modern gods ; but

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can they deliver us, should we succeed in setting them up for worship? Fortunately, as yet we cannot do so. We may, if we will, shut our eyes to the vast outside masses of aliens to our civilization, now powerless because we still, with a higher material development, retain the masculine combative virtues which are their chief possession; but, even if we disregard them, the ground already shakes beneath our feet with physical menace of destruction from within, against which the only security is in constant readiness to contend. In the rivalries of nations, in the accentuation of differences, in the conflict of ambitions, lies the preservation of that martial spirit, that alone is capable of coping finally with the destructive forces which from outside and from within threaten to submerge all that the centuries have gained.

It is not then merely, nor even chiefly, a pledge of universal peace that may be seen in the United States becoming a naval power of serious import, with clearly defined external ambitions dictated by the necessities of her interoceanic position; nor yet in the cordial co-operation, as of kindred peoples, that the future may have in store between her and Great Britain. Not in universal harmony, nor in fond dreams of unbroken peace, rest now the best hopes of the world, as involved in the fate of European civilization. Rather in the competition of interests, in that reviving sense of nationality, which is the true antidote to what is worst in socialism, in the jealous determination of each people to provide first for its own, of which the tide of protection rising throughout the world, whether economically an error or not, is so marked a symptom—in these jarring sounds which betoken that there is no immediate danger of the leading peoples turning their swords into ploughshares—are to be heard the assurance that decay has not yet touched the majestic fabric erected by so many centuries of courageous battling. In this same pregnant strife the United States will doubtless be led, by undeniable interests and aroused national sympathies, to play a part, to cast aside the policy of isolation which befitted her infancy, and to recognize that, whereas once to avoid European entanglement was essential to the development of her individuality, now to take her share of the travail of Europe is but to assume an inevitable task, an appointed lot in the work of upholding the common interests of civilization. Our Pacific slope with an instinctive shudder has felt the threat, which able Europeans

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have seen in the teeming multitudes of central and northern Asia; while their overflow into the Pacific Islands shows that not only westward by land, but also eastward by sea, the flood may sweep. I am not careful, however, to search into the details of a great movement, which indeed may never come, but whose possibility, in existing conditions, looms large upon the horizon of the future, and against which the only barrier will be the warlike spirit of the representatives of civilization. Whate'er betide, Sea Power will play in those days the leading part which it has in all history, and the United States by her geographical position must be one of the frontiers from which, as from a base of operations, the Sea Power of the civilized world will energize.

But for this seemingly remote contingency, preparation will be made, if men then shall be found prepared, by a practical recognition now of existing conditions—such as those mentioned in the opening of this paper—and acting upon that knowledge. Control of the sea, by maritime commerce and naval supremacy, means predominant influence in the world; because, however great the wealth product of the land, nothing facilitates the necessary exchanges as does the sea. The fundamental truth concerning the sea—perhaps we should rather say the water—is that it is Nature's great medium of communication. It is improbable that control will ever again be exercised, as once it was, by a single nation. Like the pettier interests of the land, it must be competed for, perhaps fought for. The greatest of the prizes for which nations contend, it too will serve, like other conflicting interests, to keep alive that temper of stern purpose and strenuous emulation which is the salt of the society of civilized states, whose unity is to be found, not in a flat identity of conditions—the ideal of socialism—but in a common standard of moral and intellectual ideas.

Also, amid much that is shared by all the nations of European civilization, there are, as is universally recognized, certain radical differences of temperament and character, which tend to divide them into groups having the marked affinities of a common origin. When, as frequently happens on land, the members of these groups are geographically near each other, the mere proximity seems, like similar electricities, to develop repulsions that render political variance the rule and political combination the exception. But when, as is the case with Great Britain and

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the United States, the frontiers are remote, and contact—save in Canada—too slight to cause political friction, the preservation, advancement, and predominance of the race may well become a political ideal, to be furthered by political combination, which in turn shall rest, primarily, not upon cleverly constructed treaties, but upon natural affection and a clear recognition of mutual benefit arising from working together. If the spirit be there, the necessary machinery for its working will not pass the wit of the race to provide; and in the control of the sea, the beneficent instrument that separates us that we may be better friends, will be found the object that neither the one nor the other can master, but which may not be beyond the conjoined energies of the race. When, if ever, an Anglo-American alliance, naval or other, does come, may it be rather as a yielding to irresistible popular impulse, than as a scheme, however ingeniously wrought, imposed by the adroitness of statesmen.

We may, however, I think, dismiss from our minds the belief, frequently advanced, and which is so ably advocated by Sir George Clarke, that such mutual support would tend in the future to exempt maritime commerce in general from the harassment which it has hitherto undergone in war. I shall have to try for special clearness here in stating my own views, partly because they may appear to some retrogressive, and also because they may be by others thought to contradict what I have elsewhere said in more extensive and systematic treatment of this subject.

The alliance which, under one form or another,—either as a naval league, according to Sir George, or as a formal treaty, according to Mr. White,—is advocated by both writers, looks ultimately and chiefly to the contingency of war. True, a leading feature of either proposal is to promote goodwill and avert causes of dissension between the two contracting parties; but even this object is sought largely in order that they may firmly stand by each other in case of difficulty with other states. War may thus even be more surely averted; but, should it come, it should find the two united upon the ocean, consequently all-powerful there, and so possessors of that mastership of the general situation which the sea has always conferred upon its unquestioned rulers. Granting the union of hearts and hands, the supremacy, from my standpoint, logically follows. But why,

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then, if supreme, concede to an enemy immunity for his commerce? "Neither Great Britain nor America," says Sir George Clarke, though he elsewhere qualifies the statement, "can see in the commerce of other peoples an incentive to attack." Why not? For what purposes, primarily, do navies exist? Surely not merely to fight one another—to gain what Jomini calls "the sterile glory" of fighting battles in order to win them. If navies as all agree, exist for the protection of commerce, it inevitably follows that in war they must aim at depriving their enemy of that great resource; nor is it easy to conceive what broad military use they can subserve that at all compares with the protection and destruction of trade. This Sir George indeed sees, for he says elsewhere, "Only on the principle of doing the utmost injury to an enemy, with a view to hasten the issue of war, can commerce-destroying be justified"; but he fails, I think, to appreciate the full importance of this qualifying concession, and neither he nor Mr. White seems to admit the immense importance of commerce-destroying, as such.

The mistake of both, I think, lies in not keeping clearly in view—what both certainly perfectly understand—the difference between the *guerre-de-course*, which is inconclusive, and commerce-destroying (or commerce prevention) through strategic control of the sea by powerful navies. Some nations more than others, but all maritime nations more or less, depend for their prosperity upon maritime commerce, and probably upon it more than upon any other single factor. Either under their own flag or that of a neutral, either by foreign trade or coasting trade, the sea is the greatest of boons to such a state; and under every form its sea-borne trade is at the mercy of a foe decisively superior.

Is it, then, to be expected that such foe will forego such advantage—will insist upon spending blood and money in fighting, or money in the vain effort of maintaining a fleet which, having nothing to fight, keeps also its hands off such an obvious means of crippling the opponent and forcing him out of his ports? Great Britain's navy, in the French Wars, not only protected her own commerce, but also annihilated that of the enemy; and both conditions—not one alone—were essential to her triumph.

It is because Great Britain's sea power, though still superior,

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has declined relatively to that of other states, and is no longer supreme, that she has been induced to concede to neutrals the principle that the flag covers the goods. It is a concession wrung from relative weakness—or possibly from a mistaken humanitarianism; but, to whatever due, it is all to the profit of the neutral and to the loss of the stronger belligerent. The only justification, in policy, for its yielding by the latter, is that she can no longer, as formerly, bear the additional burden of hostility, if the neutral should ally himself to the enemy. I have on another occasion said that the principle that the flag covers the goods is forever secured—meaning thereby that, so far as present indications go, no one power would be strong enough at sea to maintain the contrary by arms.

In the same way it may be quite confidently asserted that the concession of immunity to what is unthinkingly called the "private property" of an enemy on the sea, will never be conceded by a nation or alliance confident in its own sea power. It has been the dream of the weaker belligerents in all ages; and their arguments for it, at the first glance plausible, are very proper to urge from their point of view. That arch-robber, the first Napoleon, who so remorselessly and exhaustively carried the principle of war sustaining war to its utmost logical sequence, and even in peace scrupled not to quarter his armies on subject countries, maintaining them on what after all was simply private property of foreigners —even he waxes quite eloquent, and superficially most convincing, as he compares the seizure of goods at sea, so fatal to his empire, to the seizure of a wagon travelling an inland country road.

In all these contentions there lies, beneath the surface plausibility, not so much a confusion of thought as a failure to recognize an essential difference of conditions. Even on shore the protection of private property rests upon the simple principle that injury is not to be wanton—that it is not to be inflicted when the end to be attained is trivial, or largely disproportionate to the suffering caused. For this reason personal property, not embarked in commercial venture, is respected in civilized maritime war. Conversely, as we all know, the rule on land is by no means invariable, and private property receives scant consideration when its appropriation or destruction serves the purposes of an enemy. The man who trudges the highway, cudgel in hand, may claim for his cudgel all the sacredness with which civilization invests

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property; but if he use it to break his neighbor's head the respect for his property, as such, quickly disappears. Now, private property borne upon the seas is engaged in promoting, in the most vital manner, the strength and resources of the nation by which it is handled. When that nation becomes belligerent, the private property, so called, borne upon the seas, is sustaining the well-being and endurance of the nation at war, and consequently is injuring the opponent, to an extent exceeding all other sources of national power. In these days of war correspondents, most of us are familiar with the idea of the dependence of an army upon its communications, and we know, vaguely perhaps, but still we know, that to threaten or harm the communications of an army is one of the most common and effective devices of strategy. Why? Because severed from its base an army languishes and dies, and when threatened with such an evil it must fight at whatever disadvantage. Well, is it not clear that maritime commerce occupies, to the power of a maritime state, the precise nourishing function that the communications of an army supply to the army? Blows at commerce are blows at the communications of the state; they intercept its nourishment, they starve its life, they cut the roots of its power, the sinews of its war. While war remains a factor, a sad but inevitable factor, of our history, it is a fond hope that commerce can be exempt from its operations, because in very truth blows against it are the most deadly that can be struck, nor is there any other among the proposed uses of a navy, as for instance the bombardment of seaport towns, which is not at once more cruel and less scientific. Blockade, such as that enforced by the United States Navy during the Civil War, is evidently only a special phase of commerce-destroying; yet how immense—nay, decisive—its results!

It is only when effort is frittered away in the feeble dissemination of the *guerre-de-course*, instead of being concentrated in a great combination to control the sea, that commerce-destroying justly incurs the reproach of misdirected effort. It is a fair deduction from analogy, that two contending armies might as well agree to respect each other's communications, as two belligerent states to guarantee immunity to hostile commerce.

A. T. MAHAN.

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LORD CHARLES BERESFORD:

During the last eighteen months three articles, by Mr. Carnegie, Sir George Clarke, and Mr. White, have appeared in The North American Review. These articles, all written with the same object in view, converge from different points of the compass. Their object was to bring about a reunion of some character between two great nations who had become separated through the savage stupidity of the British Government of 1774–1776.

I have been pressed to give an opinion on this question of reunion, and gladly do so, believing that every effort, no matter how small, to promote good feeling and harmony between the two countries must be for the benefit of both.

It would be impossible to overestimate the advantages to English-speaking peoples if such a reunion could be brought about, in the near future, as that contemplated by the writers referred to above. It would mean an almost certain continuity of trade and the prosperity which trade induces. Moreover, to the world at large it would mean the creation of a tremendous force which would naturally be exercised in the interests of peace. The sentiments of affection, sympathy, and esteem which found expression in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in Congress, during the debates which immediately preceded the ever-to-be-regretted rupture (and which sentiments must be inseparable from race brotherhood), have of late years again been exhibited in the most striking manner by both nations.

The relations between Englishmen and Americans in China, Egypt, and Samoa, and last year the visits of the *Blake* to the United States and the *Chicago* to England, showed how genuine and hearty is the feeling of goodwill existing between the two countries. Efforts are also being made by different sections of the community on both sides of the Atlantic to bring about some sort of practical union or alliance between Great Britain and the United States. With such sentiment openly and repeatedly expressed, surely it might be possible to effect an alliance so advantageous to each in the event of war and so invigorating in times of peace. Putting aside question of sentiment, however, the selfish interests of both countries would appear to encourage the idea of reunion. It is notable that after the most bloody battles, but before the actual Declaration of Independence, the colonists strained

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every nerve to effect a peaceable conclusion to the difficulties which were upsetting the hitherto happy relations existing between Great Britain and the States, although it was through the imbecility of Great Britain that the rupture ever occurred. No one can think the colonists were wrong in fighting the War of Independence, under the circumstances forced upon them. In fact, they would not have been worthy descendants of Britain had they not done so.

Turning to the first of the papers to which I have referred, that by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, 1893, I will notice what, in his opinion, are the proposals for and the impediments to the reunion.

I entirely agree with the first four of his contentions in support of reunion :—1. The natural sympathy and brotherhood between two nations sprung from one race. 2. The quick, comfortable, and efficient line of communication between the two countries. 3. The excellence of the telegraphic communication. 4. The easy possibility of confederation between two races similar in character, ideas, and sentiments.

His fifth suggestion—"the alteration in the fiscal policy of the two countries"—is for the present a complete impossibility. Mr. Carnegie says that the chord of patriotism existent in the breasts of the people of America, if properly played upon, might be attuned in favor of the abolition of the present fiscal arrangements; but that patriotism (as is shown by the expressed opinion of the Americans) is entirely opposed to such an alteration, and I am afraid, if the question of fiscal policy be touched upon at all, no hope for an alliance can be entertained.

Mr. Carnegie appears to think it possible for the United States to allow free entry of British products, and at the same time continue her protective policy to the rest of the world. Is this likely? Should the United States declare free trade with Great Britain alone, the benefit would be principally on the side of Great Britain. On the other hand, were the United States to declare universal free trade, it is possible that eventually Great Britain would suffer considerably, as the United States, the larger and most self-containing country, would then share with Great Britain a very large proportion of those advantages which unquestionably have accrued to her through the influence of free trade.

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Looking to the fiscal position held by Great Britain towards her colonies, it does not appear necessary to adopt Mr. Carnegie's proposals in order to bring about a reunion with the United States. If the colonies, who are more or less dependent upon Great Britain, refuse to make any alteration in their fiscal policy, it is not likely that the United States, who are not in the remotest degree dependent on Great Britain, would consider the question at all. It is possible to lay down theoretical lines of fiscal policy between two countries, but practically each country will carry out that policy which appears best for its own selfish interests.

Allowing that Mr. Carnegie's suggestion of the free entry of British products into United States could be carried out, it does not follow that the agricultural interest now so sorely depressed in this country would once more become prosperous.

There is no doubt that for a short time the prosperity of all branches of trade would be enormously increased by the freedom of the richest market in the world. But taking the facts as they are with regard to the volume of trade in the United Kingdom, it will be found that, although it has been steadily increasing of late years (notwithstanding the depression so often referred to, which is one of prices, and not of volume), still the agricultural interest becomes more and more depressed and less of a paying character. It is not necessary to seek for the reason. The cheapness of freight, added to the labor saving machinery in the United States, and the difference in wages between our agricultural laborers and those of corn-producing countries other than the United States, make it absolutely impossible for the land of this country to produce foodstuffs for our people at as cheap a rate as that at which they can be imported and bought.

It is a sad and painful fact, but if this question be looked squarely in the face there can be no doubt that in many parts of the United Kingdom the agricultural industry is an industry that has failed; and, to my mind, by far the most difficult question which politicians will have to settle in the near future are those connected with the land.

Protection is impossible. If one industry is to be protected all must be protected. The workingman knows well enough that although his wages might be increased by the protection of the particular industry in which he is engaged, the price for the commodities necessary to his existence would be increased also, and

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his balance-sheet at the end of the year would show him poorer than under existing arrangements.

As for the nostrum called bimetallism, it appears to be advocated on the theory that as things are so bad something of some sort ought to be tried. But it is earnestly to be hoped that the country will never allow such a gigantic gamble with its currency, the benefits claimed for the proposal being entirely theoretical and in the nature of an experiment. Prices may be low; but whether they be low or high, we at present enjoy the substantial advantage of being able to convert everything into gold.

With Mr. Carnegie's sixth suggestion, "that the individual parts of the empire hail such a union with enthusiasm," I cannot agree. The United Kingdom must be spoken of as a whole, and it is impossible to talk of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales as semi-independent states. The United Kingdom must remain a whole, if it is to remain at all. If split up it could not retain that force and character which have enabled it to build up and govern the greatest empire the world has ever seen.

Mr. Carnegie dwells with great emphasis on the impediments to the reunion as he wishes to see it. The first impediment he mentions is the present position of the great British colonial empire. He considers that the colonies will ultimately develop into independent states, and appears to consider that such an event would be for the benefit of Great Britain. It is within the bounds of possibility that the colonies may in the future declare themselves independent, but such an event, so far from being to the benefit of Great Britain, would be to her serious detriment.

Mr. Carnegie's second impediment is based on the idea that the British occupation of India is only temporary. It would be impossible for Great Britain to give up the duties and responsibilities she has undertaken in India. India always has been held by the sword and ruled by the sword, and is so held and ruled at this moment; and if the present dominant race—the British—left, there would be a repetition of those ruthless religious wars which devastated the country before the advent of the British.

Mr. Carnegie's third impediment is the monarchical form of government in this country, but as Sir George Clarke points out, "never in the history of our land has the monarchy been so beloved and respected by the people as it is at the present time." This love

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and respect are due to the individuality and personality of the greatest monarch that has ever sat on any throne. No words can express the devotion and universal admiration which animate the hearts of the people over whom Queen Victoria reigns. Their love for her is similar to that which children bear towards their mother, and in addition to the affection shown by her own people there is apparent in every country an unbounded respect and admiration for the great sovereign. This unique position has been attained not only by her unequalled qualities as a sovereign, but quite as much by her domestic virtues.

Mr. Carnegie's forecast of the durability of the monarchy in England would hardly be accepted in this country. The duration of the monarchy in England is more likely to depend upon the individuality and personality of the monarch than upon precedent, and he or she will have to be very careful that the moral tone of both public and private life which has for so long and so eminently distinguished Her Majesty is not lowered. Should (which is most unlikely) some future monarch offend public taste, principle, or sentiment, or depart from constitutional practice, the freedom of the press and the irresistible force of public opinion would speedily call attention to the fact that such acts could not be continued.

The next "*impediment*" Mr. Carnegie advances is the present position of the House of Lords or as he calls it "a House of Hereditary Legislators." There can be no doubt that the hereditary principle of this assembly has in argument not a leg to stand upon, and apparently is totally unsuitable to the modern requirements of a country which daily grows more democratic in its feelings, wishes, and laws. But surely the statements that frequently appear, "that the Lords paralyze the government of the country and invariably oppose themselves to the wishes of the people," are an exaggeration. All that the Lords do now is to protect the country from hasty legislation. A violent state of party feeling, would often produce hasty legislation, and to this the House of Lords is a wholesome check. The Lords do not oppose the wishes of the people, for the simple reason that it is impossible for them to do so. What they do is to give time for second thought and sound reasoning; and their action has been amply justified on very many occasions when the votes of the people have proved that proposed legislation

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was hasty and had not been properly ventilated in the constituencies.

That some reform is necessary in the constitution of the House of Lords is generally admitted by all sides of political opinion, and no doubt a reform will be forthcoming ere long.

Mr. Carnegie's final "impediment" is the Established Church. There again I cannot agree with him. The church may be disestablished, but at any rate for the present it is doing all that it can to correct the abuses that used to exist; and having regard to the fact of the good the church does among the people, there will possibly be fewer advocates of disestablishment as years roll on. There are no anomalies at present existent similar to those which brought about the disestablishment of the Irish church.

Mr. Carnegie seems to think that that portion of society which is generally described as the "upper classes" is going to be disbanded and scattered on the near advent of a powerful democracy. This is hardly likely in a country where the welfare of each class of the community is so intimately connected with and so entirely dependent upon the other.

The so-called upper classes of the United Kingdom have nothing to fear as long as they work with and for their countrymen and the state, and take care to maintain their reputation for chivalry and patriotism, and abhorrence of all sordid motives. If there be any danger ahead it is the unprecedented position of the plutocrat, who, as long as he can and will pay, can buy from a small section of these upper classes what was absolutely unsalable in days of the past. This, added to the deplorable prevalence of cant, may, like the weak link in a chain, temporarily affect the wellbeing of the whole.

That the whole social condition of the country may be altered is not unlikely; but if care, judgment, and foresight are exercised by the political leaders of the people, there is no reason to fear such drastic disturbances as would border on revolution. It is better to look at things as they are rather than as they could, should, or might be.

Will any one assert that the working-classes as a whole have had their fair share of the abundant riches which have found their way to this country during the last hundred years? These riches have to a very great extent been produced by the industry, energy, zeal, and loyalty of these working-classes; but

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during the time referred to, education was not as wide-spread as it is now, and political power was for the most part unknown to them. How do matters stand at the present time? Not only are the working-classes educated, but the future of the empire is absolutely in their hands, owing to the political power which they now possess.

No reform is advantageous to the community as a whole, unless the good old principle of "give and take"—or compromise—largely enters into its character. There will have to be give and take in the future. If the propertied classes are not inclined to give, for the benefit of the community as a whole, the working-classes are in the position, if they choose to assert it, of being able to take. It is earnestly to be hoped that democracy, charged with this tremendous power, will be led by men whose characters are entirely unselfish, whose equitable instincts will be unbiassed by party necessities, and whose whole aim and object will be to benefit the nation as a whole.

If the rights of property are materially interfered with, as they might be under the new political forces, all classes of the country would eventually suffer so severely that trade and credit, which has raised the British Empire to its present condition, would disappear from it.

Mr. Carnegie describes his views on the question of reunion as a dream, and he says it is a dream nobler than most realities—in which I entirely agree. Whether his views be accepted or not, his object is a glorious one, and he deserves the generous thanks of both great nations for starting the theory that reunion would be for the benefit of each. Were it possible for his happy dream to be converted into a reality, the English-speaking nations could control the future of the world, insure perpetual peace and prosperity, and maybe advance the advent of the millennium.

Sir George Clarke, in his paper (March, 1894), after criticising Mr. Carnegie's paper in the most able way, comes to the conclusion that the best method for bringing about a reunion between Great Britain and the United States would be by means of a complete naval union. In this I agree, but before it is possible there must be extensive preliminaries. Sir George suggests an Anglo-American Council of four members from each country, with a president appointed alternately by each nation for five years, the intelligence department of each nation to exchange in-

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formation and ideas as to the construction and armament necessary in order to protect the water-borne commerce between the two countries.

Theoretically his idea is splendid, but practically I do not think either country is in any way ripe for such a detailed scheme, and the mere fact of forcing the details of such a scheme might break down the attempt to form a reunion. It would appear easier for the present to strengthen and promote the sentiment for reunion by endeavoring to lay fully before the public of each country the value and amount of commerce between them that might be disturbed or lost in the event of either of them being engaged in war. If the people as a whole truly realized how much each country is concerned in the punctual and certain delivery of this water-borne commerce, it is not unlikely that the sentiment which exists might irritate them into declaring that these mutual interests should not be interfered with in the event of a war.

Mr. White, in a most able paper (April, 1894) on the question of reunion, clearly proves (to use his own language) that "the welfare of the United States is bound up in the maintenance of the British Empire." If a plan of campaign be made out giving as opponents Great Britain on one side and the two strongest naval powers of the continent on the other, and the details entered into of the £1,200,000,000 of water-borne trade which Great Britain has to defend, it would clearly be demonstrated that even under the unlikely contingency of Great Britain being successful, the disturbance in her trade would be so thorough that the victory would have many of the worst elements of defeat. Would it not be for the benefit of the United States, as it would unquestionably be for Great Britain, to endeavor to make some alliance which would reduce in time of war the chances of disturbance of that part of British trade which is connected with the United States.

Mr. White proposes to draft the terms of an Anglo-American alliance in the following words :

"Great Britain shall become an ally of the United States in the event of any European power or powers declaring war against the latter. On the other hand, the United States shall guarantee friendly neutrality in the event of Great Britain becoming involved in a war with one or more of the European powers concerning issues that in no way concern the pacific interests of the United States ; and under such circumstances the United States shall render to Great Britain every assistance, positive and negative, allowed to neutrals."

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This is admirable in intention. I do not think it strong enough. The suggestions contained in Mr. White's proposal do not ask the United States to do any more than is allowed now to any friendly neutral power in the event of war, whereas it binds Great Britain to an offensive and defensive alliance with the United States in the event of any power declaring war against that country.

The following are the broad facts of the case concerning commerce as worked out by Sir George :

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF SEA-BORNE COMMERCE FOR 1891.

British Empire	£970,300,000
United States	357,700,000
France	300,200,000
Germany	212,000,000

The total British trade with the United States for 1891 equals £168,000,000—that is, nearly one-half of the whole foreign trade of the United States is with Great Britain.

Why should not the United States and Great Britain enter into a defensive alliance for the protection of those interests upon which the prosperity of each so much depends? Mr. White himself holds that the terms of his suggested Anglo-American alliance "might ultimately lead to a defensive alliance." Without entering into the details necessary for an effective defence of the 168 millions referred to, it would help matters forward considerably if the governments of the two countries could be induced to exchange *pourparlers* on a question manifestly so important to both. I believe that the mere fact of the existence of an alliance such as I have indicated, combining the almost unlimited latent resources of two such great countries, would deter other nations from attacking that which for the moment appeared inadequately defended. Although the United States would undoubtedly gain by such an alliance, it cannot be denied for a moment that Great Britain would be by far the greater gainer of the two, particularly in the future.

It is much to be feared that in the time coming when the United States may adopt the policy of free trade, and also build up, as she has apparently commenced to do, a navy sufficient for her needs, it might not be worth her while to undertake the responsibilities of an alliance with Great Britain. Now is the time to bring about the alliance, when its advantages are apparent to both countries.

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As years roll on, Great Britain might or might not remain the workshop of the world, but anyhow she will less and less be able to feed her people from the produce of the land within her shores.

That there are numerous difficulties attending such an alliance, or even the proposals for such an alliance, cannot be denied. As circumstances at present hold, it would appear that the United States might benefit in time of war enormously by assuming ownership of a very large number of the bottoms now hoisting the British flag, but that would necessitate very considerable increase of her military shipping. The United States, not being a party to the treaty called the Declaration of Paris,* could also utilize the innumerable advantages which that position of exclusion gives her. But that also would entail the difficulty of arming and armament, for which she could hardly be prepared for some time after war was declared.

Having the same object in view as those who have already written so ably on this matter, I respectfully submit that the suggestion contained in this paper is more practical and therefore easier to carry through than those which have been presented already. Briefly summarized, my suggestion amounts to: An alliance between Great Britain and the United States for the protection of those commercial properties in which both countries are equally interested.

What is coming in the near future, who can tell? But will anybody deny that an alliance such as is advocated here would do much to insure the continued peace and prosperity, not only of the Anglo-Saxon race, but of the entire civilized world?

CHARLES BERESFORD.

* While referring to this Declaration, it is to be hoped that if ever the question of alliance for the protection of mutual interests is discussed between the two nations, the false, rotten, misleading, and treacherous treaty by which Great Britain voluntarily gave up half her power of protection and offence at sea would be abrogated as far as she is concerned.

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EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

BY BISHOP STEPHEN M. MERRILL, LL. D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE bitterness of party spirit is never to be excused or defended, much less commended; yet the existence of parties seems unavoidable in the conditions of our people, and should not be regarded as necessarily an evil. They promote watchfulness on the part of the people, and render it next to impossible for those in power to betray their trust or to cherish abuses that imperil the nation. From the beginning of our history there have been parties, and it may be something of an encouragement to know that, with the expansion of the public domain, the increase of population, the development of resources, and the progress of learning, wealth, and social power among the people, there has not been such an increase of political rancor in our party strifes as many imagine, and which superficial observers regard as the bane of our times, and as the prophecy of disaster to our franchises and liberties.

The political parties of the colonial period were transplants from the mother-country, with issues allied to those which represented the divisions of public sentiment on the other side of the ocean. The Tory was the loyalist party in England, which supported the prerogatives of the crown, and defended its exactions and tyrannies, often to the hazard of the liberties and prosperity of the people. Of course, this party took sides with the king in all those measures and controversies which agitated the public mind in the colonies prior to the outbreak of the war for independence, and supported him in his struggle to subdue his rebellious subjects to obedience. Tories in England and America were one in sympathy and purpose, loyalists in the highest sense. The liberalists of that day, both in England and in the colonies,

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were known as Whigs. They stood for the rights of the people, under constitutional government, against the aggressions of the crown. In the estimation of the Tory, the people exist for the government; but in the estimation of the Whig, the government exists for the people. This difference characterizes the issues between the Conservatives and Liberalists of England till this day, and its manifestations are easily traceable through all their partisan contests for ascendency in the government.

During the period of the Revolution, the words Tory and Whig fitly expressed the sentiments of the parties in their relation to the mighty struggle; but, after independence, the word "Tory" became too obnoxious to loyal Americans ever to be used in this country as the name of a political party. The word "Whig" never incurred odium of any sort, but it lost much of its significance in the new conditions which followed the war, particularly under the Articles of Confederation. While as yet there was no national constitution to be interpreted, and no central government strong enough to excite the jealousy of States or sections, the old party names and disputations disappeared, and public men patriotically devoted themselves to the rudiments of government, to the study of fundamental principles and their application to the urgent needs of the times, to the consideration of questions of finance, foreign relations, domestic order, and to the adjustment of the relations between the States and the nation.

The result of their ponderings appeared in the Federal Constitution, which displaced the Confederacy, formed "a more perfect union," and cemented the elements of republicanism into a compact nationality; and all this without disturbing the autonomy of the several States. The adoption of this instrument was the crowning act of American patriotism, the pivotal point in political history, the triumph of self-government, the culmination of the contest which gave to the world political and religious liberty, and enthroned intelligence and the popular will as the governing forces in the empires of the earth. This great achievement, not inferior in results to that of the English barons in extorting the great charter from King John, was not accomplished without opposition. At that early day the dogma of State sovereignty was broached and advocated by men whose favor gave it strength, and whose patriotism was above reproach.

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Honestly believing in the sovereignty of the States severally, these men consistently opposed the adoption of the Constitution, which required the concession of some of the elements of sovereignty to the General Government, thereby constituting it a veritable nationality, instead of an assemblage of confederated sovereignties. Their views differed widely from those of modern advocates of that dogma; for they were unable to find State sovereignty in the Constitution, and opposed its adoption on that account, while it is now contended—or was till the war settled it—that this principle forms the "warp and woof" of the instrument itself. The contention was not about States' rights, but State sovereignty.

Those who favored the Constitution and secured its adoption, believing in a strong Federal Government, were designated Federalists; while those who opposed it in the interest of larger powers for the States, were called Republicans. These were the parties under the Constitution. The Federalists elected the first President, George Washington, and set the new government in operation. They interpreted the grants of power made in the Constitution quite liberally, assuming that the purpose of that instrument was to constitute the United States an independent sovereignty, superior to the sovereignty inhering in the several States; and assuming also that these grants were sufficient for that purpose without trenching upon the reserved rights of the States. Thus this question of the division of rights between the General and the State governments presented one of the first issues before the people of the United States, gave rise to the first political parties under the Constitution, and in some way or other questions relating to this old controversy have had to do with all the parties which have had more than a tentative existence from the beginning till the present time.

The Federalist party, after incorporating its essential principles in the government, and electing Washington twice and John Adams once, would seem to have had prestige and power enough to maintain itself and conquer opposition; but the opposition grew in intensity and virulence, and the party in power fell under odium through the unwise action of some of its adherents who, in its name, sought for enlargements of power not in the Constitution and never contemplated by the real founders of the government. The Hartford Convention became the

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synonyme of political infamy, and an incubus which the Federal party could neither carry nor dislodge from its shoulders. In the mean time the opposition, then known as the Democratic-Republican party, had acquiesced in the adoption of the Constitution, accepted its provisions, increased in public favor, and gathered strength to gain control of the government by the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency. By this time the original issues between the parties had passed away, and new questions had arisen, so that "Federalist" and "Republican" had come to mean something widely different from the ideas which attached to them in the earlier history of the parties.

Multitudes believe that Mr. Jefferson was elected President by the Democratic party. He is sometimes spoken of as the first Democratic President, and as the founder and patron of that political organization. Of course this is a delusion. Mr. Jefferson was "out of politics" before the modern Democratic party was born. The party which elected Mr. Jefferson was called both Republican and Democratic, but the assumption that the present Democratic party ever had any relation to that old party of the time of Jefferson is utterly groundless. The party of Jefferson and Madison, the first competitor of the party which elected Washington and Adams, became the party of the government upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson, and, in the broadest sense, the National party, the events preceding and causing the war of 1812 contributing largely to the expansion of its principles, as well as to its triumph, in the complete overthrow of the Federalist party.

Mr. Jefferson came into power as the representative of strict constructionism, fearing centralization, and advocating the reserved rights of the people and of the States. After his inauguration, with the responsibilities of office upon him, in the controversies which arose under his administration with Great Britain, resulting in war under his successor, Mr. Jefferson asserted the full powers of the General Government in a way that would have been creditable to his Federalist predecessors, and he never found occasion to reassert the looser theories of his earlier life. Mr. Madison inherited his controversies, followed in his footsteps, maintained his principles, asserted the full powers of the General Government, and demonstrated the national sovereignty, without any invasion of the reserved rights of the people or of the States. The people who supported Jefferson and Madison

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approved the enlargement of their ideas, carried the war to a successful issue, and elected Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, leaving the remnant of the Federalist party scattered and powerless. Under Mr. Monroe's first administration the old issues became obsolete, and party organizations ceased to exist. He was re-elected substantially without opposition. In the fullest sense he was the President of the people. When his second term expired there were no organized parties to put candidates in the field, after the modern methods. The old Federalist party was dead; the old Republican party had outgrown itself as a party, had expanded its creed, possessed the government and lost identity as a party in successful administration. No existing political party can possibly antedate this epoch in our national history—an epoch distinguished in our political annals as the era of peace and goodwill.

It is neither for nor against the Democratic party of to-day that it is not as old as its less intelligent advocates imagine it to be. In the nature of the case political parties must change. Old issues die, sometimes with marvellous suddenness, and new issues spring into life with surprising swiftness. Policies come and go with the surging tides of time. Methods yield to the forceful currents of popular thought, which sweep away favorite theories as well as factious oppositions; but principles abide. He is the true Democrat, whether in the party bearing that name or not, who believes in the rule of the majority, and in that interpretation of the Constitution which makes the union permanent, the nation a sovereignty, and gives to the General Government all the powers nominated in the bond, and to all the States their reserved rights of self-control and local government.

Such was the creed of the Democratic party when it first became a party. That creed, like all creeds, was a growth. It never sprang matured from any man's brain. Its germinal ideas accorded with the principles which guided Mr. Jefferson's administration after his practical statesmanship had lifted him above the vagaries of his earlier years, and made his conduct of the government wise and vigorous. The real seed-thoughts of the party, however, were found in the administration of Andrew Jackson, or rather in the discussions excited by his acts while in office. The doctrines promulgated by his followers, which were

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afterwards formulated into a creed for the party, were not made prominent in connection with pending questions, so as to be effective in his first election. He came into power with little reference to his beliefs touching the underlying principles of our governmental system, but with a wide acknowledgment of his patriotic spirit and high personal qualities.

When Mr. Monroe's successor was to be chosen, there were no political organizations to nominate candidates. In this condition of affairs what might have been anticipated came to pass. Several statesmen of high character were brought forward by their personal friends as worthy to receive the electoral votes of the States. Adams, Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and White became candidates, although the last two were scarcely recognized as such outside of their own States. The first three were the real competitors. They were all friends of the administration; their following was not partisan, but personal. The electoral votes were so divided that no choice was made, and the election was carried into the House of Representatives. Jackson had the largest number of votes, but not enough to elect him. The friends of Adams and Clay united their forces, and gave the election to Adams, and Adams made Clay his secretary of State. This transaction had the appearance of barter, and gave great offence to the followers of Jackson, who raised the cry of bargain and sale, and lost no time in determining to oppose the administration thus inaugurated. They rallied to the support of their chief, determined to elect him at the end of four years, a purpose they pursued with tireless energy till it was accomplished. This organized opposition to John Quincy Adams, in the interest of Andrew Jackson, was known as the Jackson party. The supporters of Adams were known as the administration party. Thus the lines were drawn between political parties with little regard to political faiths, and with less regard to the parties which previously existed, but which as parties existed no more. This was an epoch in the political history of the country, as it was the birthtime of two of the greatest parties that ever contended for the mastery in the presence of the American people.

It was inevitable that political parties so distinctly marked and openly struggling for success, should have distinguishing names. These were soon found. The Jackson party took the name Democrat, and became the Democratic party. As an organi-

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zation it remains till this day. The other party took to itself the honored name of the party of the revolutionary patriots, and became the Whig party. Adams was its candidate for re-election, but failed; Jackson was elected. He was the first Democratic president, using the term in its modern sense. Jackson brought great prestige to the office, and entered upon its duties with much popular enthusiasm. The shouts of the people were for Jackson, with little thought of his political platform. He soon found himself confronted with questions demanding for their sclution the expression of positive opinions. In the emergency he was not found wanting. The nullification acts of South Carolina called him out on the subject of State sovereignty. Democrat that he was, he did not accept the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun. His declaration that the "Union must and shall be preserved," enforced by expletives more vigorous than pious, has become famous in political parlance. He believed in the centralization of power in the General Government, under the Constitution, sufficient to maintain the Union, even if it required the coercion of a State. But in the matter of a national bank, and on other questions of policy in relation to tariffs, public moneys, and public improvements, he proved to be a strict constructionist—or, at least, his actions compelled his friends to assume the ground of strict constructionism in order to his defence. This necessitated defence of General Jackson's arbitrary action with regard to the national bank and the public funds is the real source of the Democratic creed, so far as it has ever had a formulated creed of distinctive principles, based on definite interpretations of the Constitution.

It was simply impossible that the followers of Adams and Clay should be strict constructionists. With Jackson, these champions of American nationalism, believed that the constitutional grants of power to the General Government were sufficient to maintain the union in its superior sovereignty over the States; and they believed, also, that its lawful powers extended to the regulation of the currency, to the fostering of internal improvements, to aiding in the development of the resources of the country, and to the protection of the industrial pursuits of the people when brought into competition with foreign trade. As a result, the Whig party favored a national bank, a protective tariff, and national aid in improving rivers and harbors, and in constructing roads and canals. The one party would reduce the

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General Government to the exercise of police regulations, and the procurement of revenue for the maintenance of its officers and necessary expenses; while the other party gave it a higher function in promoting education, in encouraging industries, arts, sciences, and in co-operating with the States in the general uplift of the people. These points indicate the issues between the parties of simultaneous birth, which sprang from the competitions of Jackson, Adams, and Clay; and upon these issues the mighty political battles of half a century were fought, engaging the energies of men whose superiors were not in the days before them, and have not been found amongst their successors. There is scarcely room for doubt that the ever-present dread of the effect on slavery of the increase of the power of the General Government prevented the slaveholders from fully trusting the Whig party, and kept them from committing to it the practical interpretation of the Constitution. They feared that the liberal construction of that instrument might open the way for action that would jeopard the institution in places under national control. It was pre-eminently a State institution, the creature of State law, and naturally took refuge under the higher conception of the rights of the States as understood by strict constructionists. In this the Southerners were logical as well as prudent; for the position of the Whig party implied the right of the General Government to hedge the institution about with limitations inimical to its prosperity. They knew that by regulating the traffic in slaves between the States, and by restricting it to the States that fostered it, its profitableness as a trade could be diminished, and they foresaw that the moral instincts of the people would in time demand the exercise of all the power in this direction the Constitution afforded; and therefore they never fully trusted the Whig party, notwithstanding the fact that the leaders of the party disavowed any desire to interfere with the institution in the States, and made their platform as strongly pro-slavery as was that of the Democrats. There was a deep conviction in the minds of slaveholders that the foundation principles of the Whig party were antagonistic to the pretensions of slavery; and they were unable to free themselves from the suspicion that, with that party firmly established in power, the rising spirit of freedom in the land would close up the outlets of the traffic which were deemed necessary to its profitableness and life. It was

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manifest to all that with the vast domain of freedom rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and influence, it would be impossible for slavery long to maintain itself if shut up within its old limits. It was therefore neither by accident nor blind chance that the slaveholders adopted and took possession of the Democratic party, moulded it to their liking, and subjected it to their will. They saw in it their only hope of controlling the nation in their interest, and depended upon that party to hold back the strong hand of the General Government while they pushed into the territories with their human chattels and forced upon the whole people the recognition of their cherished assumption that "slavery was national and freedom sectional." No doubt now exists that their ambition contemplated that consummation, and we shudder to think how near they came to realizing their ultimate purpose.

The fate of the Whig party, coming as it did through complications with the slavery question, affords lessons of profound significance. As a party it comprised a large share of the intelligence and talent of the country. Its principles commanded the approval of the most gifted of the nation. Its methods were open and honorable; and, so far forth as it affected the legislation of the country, its influence was beneficial. A more patriotic party never sought the favor of the American people; yet its success was limited, as it never enjoyed the privilege of an unbroken administration of the government. It elected two Presidents, and both died in office. Its first President, General Harrison, died in a month after his inauguration, before his policy could be developed, and the Vice-President, on whom the duties of the Presidency devolved, proved untrue to the party which elected him, and defeated the measures on which the hearts of the people were set.

This bitter disappointment was followed by new developments in the interests of slavery, which produced a reaction in the country and defeated Henry Clay and the Whig party, in 1844, giving the election to "Polk and Annexation." Texas wished to be annexed to the United States, and the slaveholders desired it, and the Democrats adopted "annexation" as their battle-cry, and succeeded. The Whigs opposed it, and predicted that the annexation of Texas in the interest of slavery-extension would result in war with Mexico, and produce a more violent

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agitation of the slavery question than had ever been known—one that would imperil the Union, shake the foundations of the government, and disturb all the business and social relations of the country. These dire predictions were all verified; yet through the disasters came the deliverance. The enlargement of the area of slavery brought the country into war with Mexico, as had been foreseen; and this in turn brought us Arizona, New Mexico, and California, to be added ultimately to the area of freedom. Then followed the election of General Taylor, with the hopeful outlook for a Whig administration. In the midst of the confidence inspired by the steadiness of the veteran warrior in the conduct of civil affairs, guided by the principles of his party, came the calamity of his death. Mr. Fillmore took the helm, and piloted the ship of state through stormy seas without betraying his party; but the breakers of slavery aggressiveness and anti-slavery protests rendered a smooth voyage an impossibility. Slaveholders became rampant, demanding the right to carry their slaves through the States in their journeys, to settle them in the territories and to have fugitives returned to their masters at government expense. The agitation became alarming. Statesmen trembled before the storm, and became more than partisans. Clay and Webster, believing the union in danger, thought duty required that questions of party be waived in order to avert the calamity of disruption and civil war; and these great lights stood forth the champions of "compromise." The restriction of slavery to the south side of a given line, and the fugitive-slave law, ensued. The odium of the "compromise" fell with crushing weight on the administration. The anti-slavery sentiment in the free States turned against it, while the South adhered more closely than ever to the party most devoted to its interests. Thus the Whig party, after dallying with slavery to the verge of dishonor, and bidding for its support in a platform out of harmony with its fundamental principles, went down before the power it courted—went down in the sense that it could not again carry the election, nor longer hold the confidence of its most conscientious friends.

The capture of the Democratic party by the slaveholding power was its last and greatest victory. It was an achievement which promised great things in the way of nationalizing slavery, but it proved a brilliant example of "vaulting ambition" o'er-

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leaping itself. The aggressive spirit which the institution exhibited after assuring itself of the support of the party which came into power in the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852, provoked resistance more spirited and persistent than had been anticipated. The removal of the Whig party, as a party, from the political arena did not assure the quiet possession of the government by the worshippers at the shrine of slavery, but opened the way and created the occasion for the concentration of the anti-slavery forces of the country in a party destined to fill a mission more glorious than had ever been assigned to a party of the people under the sun. This result, however, was not reached till the Democratic party had full opportunity to display its subserviency to the oligarchy which governed it. It held its ground till its commission was renewed in the election of 1856, placing James Buchanan in the Presidency and intensifying the spirit which prompted the "rule or ruin" determination of the South.

Now, as never before, questions relating to slavery overshadowed everything else, while those relating to banks, tariffs, internal improvements, and all others were dwarfed or disregarded. The whole fabric of Democratic policy stood on pro-slavery ground. Then, with that party in power, confirmed by the election of 1856, with the fugitive-slave law in force, and the whole government committed to the demands of slavery, so that its votaries controlled Congress, dictated duty to the President, and touched springs which reached the Supreme Court of the United States, making the Dred Scott decision a possibility, it looked as if the nation were chained to the chariot-wheels of this arrogant monster for years to come. Inspired by its successes, and conscious of its ability to sway the government, it rushed confidently into strife for the possession of the virgin soil of territories dedicated to freedom; and on this rock it split.

The downfall of the Whig party dates from its defeat in 1852. The influence of the "Third Party" was something, but not a powerful factor in its overthrow. The assumption that it was a chief agency is not supported by the facts. In 1840 and in 1844, the abolition party cast an inconsiderable vote, which did not amount to a disturbing element in the elections of those years. In 1848, the "Free-Soil" party was in the field with a broader platform and with greater elements of strength. The nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs alienated the Quakers and

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some other anti-slavery people from the Whig party; while the nomination of Lewis Cass by the Democrats offended many in that party, particularly in the State of New York, and prepared the way for the large Free-Soil vote cast that year—the largest ever cast. Martin Van Buren bolted the nomination of Cass, and he and his special adherents expressed sympathy with Free-Soilism, probably as much to defeat his old competitor, General Cass, as to advance the cause of freedom. He was nominated by the Free-Soil party and accepted. His candidacy drew from the Democrats about as many votes as were drawn from the Whigs, and aided not in the destruction of the Whig party, but in the election of General Taylor. The Free-Soil vote of 1852 was much less than in 1848. Then came the Know-Nothing furor, which swept the country like a tornado, disrupting party lines as nothing had ever done before. It was not a third party, but a movement of extraordinary character, forming an anomalous chapter in the history of American politics. The Whig party was already out of the field, and never again confronted its old competitor.

The Democratic party, though badly shattered, being in power, managed to survive as a party. Out of the debris came the Republican party, organized and drilled, ready for the fray, in 1856. Into it came the anti-slavery elements of all the old parties, including all the voters of the Free-Soil party, who were in it from principle. Pro-slavery Whigs went over to the Democrats. Thus, after the culmination of the slave power, and after the sifting in the Know-Nothing storm, the lines of the parties were finally drawn upon the issues thrust upon the country by the aggressions of slavery. The practical question demanding settlement was the extension of slavery into the territories. The Republican party squarely accepted this issue; but, anti-slavery as it was, it proposed no interference with the institution in the States where it existed. As a party of principle it entered the lists courageously, and made rapid strides toward victory in the first national campaign; but the Democratic party had rallied after the Know-Nothing shaking up, and with the South nearly solid in its support, and with the accession to its ranks of the pro-slavery Whigs, losing only the meagre anti-slavery element which was left to it after the defection of 1848, it was nearly as strong and quite as defiant in 1856 as in 1852, while its devotion to slavery was as complete as ever before.

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In some sense the Republican party became the successor of the Whig party. It inherited much of its distinguishing faith from that source, and took its place as the antagonist of the Democracy. In the emergency precipitated by the rebellion, the Republican administration found it necessary to apply the essential principles for which the Whigs had always contended, for the maintenance of the Union, so that the exact features of that old party's construction of the constitutional powers of the government were brought into requisition, and these proved to be the sheet-anchor of hope to patriotic hearts in the darkest night of discouragement, the inspiration to our leaders in the great struggle, and therefore the strength and victory of Republicanism in its sorest trials. On the other hand, nearly all the old-time issues held by the Democratic party, in opposition to the Whigs, perished in the rebellion, or became obsolete through the progress of public opinion. In the one case the body died, but the soul survived in a new form of vigorous life; while, in the other case, the body retained vitality enough to keep it from dissolution, yet was animated by a spirit that may or may not claim kinship with the ghost that went out into darkness when slavery met its fate. As is common with old men, this party lives largely in the past. Its eyes are turned backward. Even in its newly found vigor its creed is mostly negative. It denies much and affirms little. It accepts the amendments to the Constitution because it must. It accepts the national currency, formerly so offensive to it, because it cannot do otherwise. Its hard money record is retired into the shades of forgetfulness. Its wildcat money record is an unsavory memory. Its financial policy is undeveloped. Its tariff ambiguities abide. It lives upon what it has been, but the retrospect does not cheer. It is a great power. It has the strength of numbers and the prestige of age and success. Its power of adaptation to the passions and prejudices of races and religions is marvellous.

The history of the Republican party is not yet written. As a party it was born in troublous times. It sprang into manhood as the embodiment of loyalty to the Union, intelligent in the recognition of constitutional guarantees, and yet resolute in the purpose that human slavery—the gangrene of the body-politic—although entrenched in constitutions of so many States, should not blight the fair domain of the nation's territories, whose broad acres stood in untarnished purity, inviting the coming

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millions to erect homes consecrated to virtue, liberty, and progress. It came with the primal affirmation inscribed on its banners, that freedom is national, and slavery sectional. It had a mission which was broader and grander than its founders knew, and it came to its mission with men more richly endowed for leadership in the emergencies to be met than the most sanguine dreamed. It will not be possible for future generations to read the story of the slaveholders' rebellion and its outcome without the impression that Mr. Lincoln was a Providential character, a man come to the kingdom for such a time. Others in their different spheres were as marked as the great leader himself, and as important in their places. The country will never blush for the men or measures which gave character to the Republican party in the early years of its victorious progress. Wisely and bravely did they grapple with difficulties more formidable than ever before confronted American statesmanship, and heroically did they conduct the nation through perils more dreadful than the people ever knew to exist. The lustre of their names will shine with increasing brightness as the years roll on, and unborn millions will crown their memory with grateful applause.

Looking backward from the present, the discovery that the Republican party has made mistakes is no evidence of superior discernment. It did not develop its own scheme of reconstruction. The death of Mr. Lincoln was followed by embarrassments through the defection of Andrew Johnson that crippled its operations and forced contentment with half-way measures. With his unquestioned loyalty to the Union, Mr. Johnson was at heart a Democrat, and in the crisis of reconstruction his Democratic instincts asserted themselves, throwing into confusion the counsels of those who had given him power. In debate he was the peer of the strongest men of his times, and having the courage of his convictions his exercise of the veto power was prompt and vigorous. With less of kindliness toward the South than Mr. Lincoln possessed, his sense of obligation to the whole country and to the future was dull in comparison with that which characterized his predecessor, the illustrious martyr. In these circumstances it was impossible for the party to carry into effect any measure that encountered his prejudices. Compromise in reconstruction was therefore inevitable. If the idea of dead States had been consistently enforced, and if the whole area of

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the seceded States had been laid out with new boundaries and in better shape, and if to each new State there had been given a new name suggestive of loyalty, the names and pride of the seceded States perishing in the rebellion, secession would have met deserved fate and become odious more rapidly than was possible under existing conditions.

Nevertheless the Republican party has been a success, and as such it will pass into history whether it shall ever elect another President or not. Its fundamental principles inherited from the Whig party, and those developed in the fires of its conflicts, have been wrought into the fabric of the government, so that no party will attempt their elimination. The stamp of its power is in the Constitution, in the established rights of suffrage, in the national currency, and in everything essential to the maintenance of the national honor at home and abroad.

The Republican party has been less wise in the management of its party concerns than in the conduct of the government. Its party discipline has been less rigid than that of other great parties. Through defeat it may learn wisdom, however, and discover what vast results follow slight derelictions. Want of harmony has characterized its counsels, and personal ambitions have brought it distraction. The real weakness of this party has been its failure to sustain its own administrations. Early in General Grant's first term factious opposition appeared. Before it was ended, a "liberal republican" party was organized and nominated Horace Greeley for the purpose of assuring the President's defeat. The Democrats indorsed the nomination, and defeated the purpose of the malcontents. After his second election, the Republican press vied with the opposition press in detraction of General Grant. His judgment was assailed, his intelligence belittled, his counsels derided, his motives aspersed, and all was done that malignity could do to destroy his influence. The calumniations of the Democratic press were rehearsed by Republican papers with a relish that showed the deepest animosity towards the "old commander," and these papers, instead of loyally defending the administration, or kindly criticising their chief if criticism were deserved, denounced his actions and opinions as "Cæsarism" and "Grantism," and not republicanism. When he discouraged the cry of a "solid South" in the campaign, and insisted that five Southern States were Republican, and ought to be held steadily

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in the Republican ranks, his advice was repudiated, and the cry of a "solid South" rang out from all the Republican rostrums in the land. After the election it was found exceedingly important to break that solidity, which was righteously done, but under conditions not desirable for repetition. No wonder the party was reduced to the verge of defeat!

In a short time after the inauguration of President Hayes, dissensions arose in the Republican party over his earliest efforts to adjust complications in the Southern States. Had he not beforehand proclaimed his purpose not to stand for a second term, the bitterness of the dissension would have been much more intense than it became. During his entire term he was belittled and discounted by a large portion of the Republican press, and found shallow support from any quarter, when it ought to have been cordial and persistent. Nevertheless, he made an administration honorable to himself, creditable to his party, and useful to the country. Under his prudent and upright conduct of the government, the lines of the party were strengthened, in spite of dissensions, so that the election of another Republican was a possibility: but who of all the leaders of the party ever acknowledged indebtedness to President Hayes for his share in bringing about the victory? All adored the rising rather than the setting sun. Mr. Garfield came into office with the goodwill of all the factions, so that it looked for a time as if the party would at length honor itself by honoring its chief. This appearance was deceptive. The spoils of office were not distributed till faction broke out with such violence that the Democracy could not surpass the bitterness with which Mr. Garfield was assailed by many who had aided in his election. Nor did his tragic death heal the breach. While lying prostrate from the murderer's bullet, the tongue of Republican detraction was turned away from him only to create distrust of the one who must take his place. Mr. Arthur encountered Republican coldness when he most needed sympathy, and was greeted with cruel suspicion when he most needed the help which could only come from the united support of his party. Nevertheless he gave an administration which challenged the admiration of all candid men and well nigh disarmed criticism. Having earned the nomination to be his own successor, other leadership was sought, and Mr. Arthur was complimented with approving words, while the substan-

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tial token of the party's favor was passed over to another—to one worthy the honor, indeed, but unable to take the prize. Defeat came to the party at last, which, with all the noble principles embodied in its creed, and with the grand record of its past achievements, was never wise enough to stand firm and united in the generous support of its own administration.

Did it overcome this weakness in the humiliation of defeat? The record will not justify this assumption. After the nomination of Mr. Harrison, the party rallied to his support with commendable unanimity, and gained success. He was scarcely in his seat when the old practice of belittling the incumbent of the office, in the interest of a possible candidate in the future, was resumed. Mr. Blaine was in the cabinet, and Mr. Blaine was the morning star of Republican hope. Whatever was good in the administration was credited to Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine never needed the fulsome praise bestowed upon him, and was never benefited by it; and Mr. Harrison never deserved the "faint praise" with which he was so often condemned. While his administration will stand high in honor in the history that is yet to be written, and while the passing years will add to the fame of his admirable personal qualities, it is, nevertheless, an indisputable fact that the Republican party weakened itself during the period of his incumbency by failing to render merited support to its own administration.

There have been other parties which have figured more or less in the political field. The Anti-Masonic party had an ephemeral existence, but never reached the dignity of a national party, and exerted only an incidental influence in public affairs. The same is true of the Abolition and Free-Soil parties, previously named. There was an American party, the product of know-nothingism, which lingered for a while after the storm, and contributed to the confusion that reigned in political circles during the interval between the going down of the Whig party and the development of the Republican party. There was a "Union" party in the field prior to the war, known as the Bell-Everett party, from the names of its candidates; but it was only a temporary expedient, a sort of post-mortem wriggle of defunct Whiggism, where the Republican movement was unable to obtain recognition. The Prohibition party came into the field at a later date, and exhibited greater persistency than some of the other "third parties," hav-

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ing under it a noble sentiment, and in it men of moral worth and philanthropic aim; but even this party never had the ghost of a prospect of reaching the goal of its ambition, and never made any direct contribution towards the destruction of political evils. Most of these "third parties" resulted from some sporadic outburst of moral sentiment, and all failed through lack of rooting in distinct constitutional principle. Some of them have served an admirable purpose in furnishing occupation for disgruntled politicians; some, as counter-irritants, drawing inflammation from the vitals of the other parties, and others in affording a stage on which amateur politicians might play at election campaigning. The last experiment in this line, the so-called People's party, has puzzled and bewildered many astute manipulators of public sentiment, yet without inspiring any high degree of hopefulness with regard to beneficial results.

The practical lesson deducible from this summary of political history is that there is no foundation for a political party to stand upon that is either broad enough or strong enough to give the slightest hope of achieving success in controlling the affairs of the nation, except some principle of construing the constitution of the United States, which is sufficiently far-reaching to touch every department of the government, and to determine the character and genius of our institutions. No temporary issue, in legislation, however urgent; no isolated moral sentiment, however valuable in itself; nor any sectional or race prejudice, however powerful or inveterate,—will serve to justify or sustain a separate political organization, in the presence of the American people, long enough to assure success.

S. M. MERRILL.

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THE MODERN NOVEL.

BY AMELIA E. BARR, AUTHOR OF "JAN VEDDER'S WIFE," "A DAUGHTER OF FIFE," "THE LAST OF THE M'ALLISTERS," "A BOW OF ORANGE RIBBON," ETC., ETC.

THE smart scandalous stories of Mrs. Behn and Mrs. Manley were the beginnings of the English novel, and from these erotic attempts, by Sterne's wayward fancy, and Johnson's severe morality, we come to Fielding, Richardson and Miss Burney, the real indicators of the province of the novelist: laughing at the follies of society, ridiculing its petty vices, and making pictures of the every-day life of the period. This is an evanescent rôle; therefore novels, like almanacs, lose their interest, and pass away with the time they represent.

No novelist has escaped this contingency of his vocation; not even Bulwer, whose finger was ever on the pulse of the age. Scott has long ceased to charm; and if Dickens and Thackeray could bring us another *Pickwick* and *Esmond*, would they again find a multitude of enthusiastic readers? Not likely, unless the world should step backward, for the novelist who hits the taste of his own generation cannot be abreast of the taste of the generation that follows him.

So then the popular novel is the one which reflects best the time and circumstances wherein we each play our own interesting parts; and this truth accounts for the variety and number of the novels of the present day. The whole world is now open to the story-teller; and life has infinite diversities. It is also physically and mentally restless, and it has vast spiritual uncertainties and speculations. And, as on many of these lines women have a keener instinct and further intuition than men have, women find their work quite as much in request as that of the other sex. In-

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deed, there is an impression that the sensational novel is entirely a feminine production, while it is really men who excel in it. Nor is there anything derogatory in this fact, for the good sensational novel requires a practised writer, and evinces as much genius in one direction as the analytic novel does in another. To make murder and bigamy interesting to educated people, a vigorous style and plenty of incident are needed.

Even the sensational stories of a low grade—crude, romantic, and without literary merit—are not to be wholly condemned. They are the sole mental food that great masses of slightly educated people will accept; and though only the adventures of cowboys, or the sorrows of pretty dressmakers, they are something better than the blank stupidity of their own minds. Intellectually, they may be trashy; and morally, they may be weak; but as a rule they do show that virtue gets the better of vice. This class of the community is just beginning to enjoy books, and the first steps in any popular development are full of vulgarities; but as it advances, the books written for it will improve in tone and quality.

It is the erotic-sensational novel which deserves unqualified anger and disgust, for it is the representation, by genius, of a society that lives for the gratification of its five senses, and that only. These novels, with their demi-nude and demi-monde experiences, sap all moral perceptions, and teach only one vile lesson —that we may sin, if we only sin neatly and take care not to be found out. A good writer stooping to work of this kind is like a fine lapidary wasting his skill in cutting pastes instead of diamonds. And the worst of the position is that he knows it and makes money by it.

The criminal novel is another development of the sensational novel, and it has lately grown in popularity; but though it takes a high order of genius to make its complications move steadily and swiftly to their *dénouement*, not even the master pens of Balzac, Gaboriau, and Conan Doyle can divest it of the flavor of brothels, prisons, and morgues. However, if people enjoy the game between criminals and detectives, the question is simply whether the exhibition is, or is not, a moral one—whether the details of crime, the telling of how it was done, how it was concealed, and how it was found out, may not be a kind of criminal school, for those whose inclinations lead them in that di-

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rection. Both in the criminal and the erotic-sensational novel, the most dangerous element is the *contemporaneous* one. If such stories could be laid a few centuries back, they would do no harm; men are not made thieves by reading of Ali Baba, and women are not led astray by the example of Queen Guinevere. But when the heroes and heroines are men and women of like passions with ourselves, and living in our midst, they have all the wicked influence of personal bad company.

The staple, however, of our modern novels may be called domestic and semi-religious, and it is highly creditable to modern society that this is the case. These "fireside concerns," as the critics call them, have given us heroines of purity and unselfishness, women who have never, it is true, felt impelled to study art or acting, or to take to the lecturer's platform, but who have upheld the highest standard of womanly virtue and tenderness. The heroines of Miss Austen, Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Yonge, Mrs. Oliphant, George Eliot, Mr. Trollope, and others may have their little fits of bad temper, envy, spitefulness, and waywardness, but murder, adultery, and theft would be impossible ideas in connection with them. And they have had during the last fifty years a distinct social power, for it was these novels which first showed girls how beautiful a thing it was to visit the poor and the sick, to teach in Sunday-schools, and to embroider altar cloths. Even in the direction of fashionable society, no girl could have a finer chaperon than Mr. Trollope, for he never introduces her to exceptionable characters, and he makes love and marriage healthy domestic pleasures.

It is probable that this class of novels has had an equally good influence over the respectable young men of the same period; for they gave to their good and lovely heroines men worthy of them—high-souled students, soldiers, and sailors; conscientious curates; or, as in Mr. Kingsley's novels, earnest, God-fearing young fellows, physically and morally healthy, doing their duty without any nonsense about it. Of course such novels were a temptation in the hands of weak writers, to prose and preach, and make books full of prigs and prudes, which quite deserved the quasi-contemptuous name of "fireside concerns," or "annals of the drawing-room"; but even so, they are far better than those other "concerns" of the brothel and the prison.

Another popular form of the domestic novel is the analytic.

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Mr. Trollope's and Mr. Howells' works may be taken as fine representatives of it. This novel is at the antipodes of the novel of incident, or romance, which finds in Mr. R. L. Stevenson its present illustrator. There is a natural antagonism between these two novels. Mr. Howells thinks that "it is, after all, what a writer has to say, rather than what he has to tell, that we care for nowadays"; and Mr. Stevenson is puzzled at the people who "look down on incident, and reserve their admiration for the click of teaspoons and the accents of curates." The fact is, Mr. Stevenson likes incident, and can describe it well; and Mr. Howells likes analyzing character and motives, and he wisely does what he can do so cleverly. Both are favorites, though Mr. Howells' thoughtful readers call Mr. Stevenson's incidents "improbabilities"; and Mr. Stevenson's readers say "they like to know what was done, and don't care about the state of mind it was done in." In weaker hands than Mr. Howells', this "analysis of character" is often carried to a point where the author, like the knife-grinder, "story has none to tell"; and then we naturally weary of descriptions of vacillating women, and selfish lovers, and of dull people who never make a remark without explaining *why* they make it.

To be a popular novelist is to be the recipient of a love passing the love of woman. Even newspapers, who scold senators and accuse every public institution and every form of religion, have a peremptory "*Hush!*" if a word is said against their favorite novelist. For when an honest reader is made better, or wiser, or happier by a book, he feels justly indebted to the author of it. And it is well for writers that the rewards and renown of literature are now conferred by ballot of the people, and not by the educated antipathies and prejudices of any school or academy. Indeed, the academical spirit is dead, and no literary senate sits either in the Old World or in the New. If, then, an author is popular, he has the verdict of a world-wide tribunal, and a *prima-facie* evidence that what he writes has a positive value to some class of humanity.

It is not, however, likely that any novelist does constantly his best work. The public taste is to be consulted, and the larger a writer's audience, the lower must be its average taste; yet it is the average that must be written for, if financial rewards are looked to. This accounts for the commonplace character of the

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modern novel; the general taste of the era is commonplace, and it has no more desire for the heroic in its books than it has for tragedy in its theatres. What people want first of all is a story, a good plot, and not many tepid enthusiasms about scenery. The landscape business in novels has been overdone; the very worst use scenery can be put to is to describe it in a novel, unless it is used in connection with humanity, or as productive of some actual sensation in those who see it.

The age scarcely does justice to the power of the popular novel, even when it works on an average level. Mr. Mill might have included novelists who have clear views on any subject, with members of legislative bodies and editors of great newspapers as "direct and immediate influences." For novels now depict everything and everybody, and all kinds of human character may be found on a railway bookstall. Novels are the sermons of this era, and a favorite novelist exerts a deeper and far more extensive influence than any living clergyman; not in the formation of this or that special opinion, but in a subtle and permanent bias and prepossession over the whole character. And when men and women of all ages are constantly under these interesting sermons, it is worse than idle to say that "nothing comes of it."

The best novels are written by men and women who have seen life in all its variations of joy and sorrow, triumph and failure. With this rich experience, and a fine imagination, the novel lends itself to every variety of emotion, political, social, and religious; to every mode of thought, to every shade of speculation, on every topic, in heaven or on earth. This necessity for experience, with all it comprehends, is the reason we have so few young novelists of continuous power. The imaginary pictures constructed out of the inner consciousness of the young can have little value, since they must be the result of what has been read in other novels, and not of what has been suffered or experienced by the writer.

No gift of the Almighty is so little valued by the hand-workers of the world as the royal power of imagination. Parents nearly always think it a disqualifying preparation for money-making. Yet, imagination is one of the grandest forces in actual life, and only the ignorant despise it. The ability to "conceive the absent as if it were present" would enable many a man to set his temptation visibly before him, and see the consequences of his act. An eminent English historian attributes the Indian

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Mutiny to Lord Dalhousie's want of imagination; his inability to conceive the results of his provoking acts. Mr. Disraeli finds the same fault with the political genius of Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Mill says the want of imagination vitiates the whole philosophy of Bentham. In the same way, fraud arises less often from conscious roguery than from an inability to "conceive the absent as if it were present," and by the power of imagination see the results of a dishonest act. We all know people who will weep over a novel or a play, and yet care nothing for the suffering around them. This is because the novelist or the playwright brings vividly before their imagination the fictitious suffering; but they have no imagination of their own to realize the actual suffering. Therefore, even men who are to be employed in commerce or statesmanship might take a course of good novels to stimulate their imagination; for imagination aids foresight and enables us to estimate probable results.

As for novels being unlike life, this charge cannot be brought against the best of modern novels. It is really a succession of brilliant photographs of contemporary life; and the improbable incidents in most novels are very likely the real ones; for ordinary lives appear to be commonplace, because we know nothing about them. The records of our criminal courts are more improbable than any modern novel; and families that seem to differ in no way from other families might be subjects for epics, as wonderful and horrible as the houses of Pelops and Labdacus.

Another advantage in the modern novel is that it gives the young a much better idea of the relations between men and women than they could form for themselves, or from bad books or company. Novels do not breed sentiment; however early they come to a boy or girl they find the sentiment already there. The oldest and best nursery books recognize this element. Whittington's master's daughter is quite as important as Whittington's cat; and never a fairy prince without a fairy princess. The young man of the present day does not fail on the side of modesty, but it might tone down his disagreeable self-confidence if he learned through Mr. Trollope and others how often the irresistible young man of a tale is rejected by the heroine, and that the rejection is in no way fatal to her.

As to the important subject of "asking *the* question," novels are a perfect school of ways and means, of what is to be sought,

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and what is to be avoided. Would any lover who had read *Granby* take his mistress on the water to propose to her? No; he would consider the possibility of having to row her back. a sulky and disappointed man. The men who become old bachelors are the men who take no counsel from Miss Yonge or Mrs. Oliphant, from Mr. Besant or Mr. Trollope, or any other reputable guide. Indeed, the latter gentleman's strong point is his delightful lovemaking and his straightforward proposals.

Women are practically affected by novels far more than men are, for the experience of men enables them to dispute or dilute or correct many things said. But a woman's life is greatly influenced by the fiction she reads. She draws her ideas from her favorite books; she tries to speak, and act, and dress like her favorite heroines. How good, then, it must be for an egotistical, selfish girl to have a course of George Eliot's novels! for her constant lesson through her characters is that the world was not made for them alone. She knocks the selfishness out of them all, or she punishes them for retaining it. She is also a good teacher for girls self-willed and self-opinionated; for all her good, lovable women need a master and a rule of life; yes, even Romola needed Savonarola.

The one thing to be regretted in many of the lighter novels of the day is their kind of heroine. She is not a nice girl. She talks too much, and talks in a slangy, jerky way, that is odiously vulgar. She is frank, too frank, on every subject and occasion. She is contemptuous of authority, even of parental authority, and behaves in a high-handed way about her love affairs. She is, alas! something of a Freethinker. She rides a bicycle, and plays tennis, and rows a boat. She laughs loudly, and dresses in manly fashion, and acts altogether in accord with an epoch that travels its sixty miles an hour. She is very smart and clever, but in her better moments she makes us sigh for the girls who thought their parents infallible and who were reverent churchwomen—the girls who were so shrinkingly modest, and yet so brave in great emergencies—the girls who were so fully accomplished and so beautiful, and who yet had no higher ambition than to be the dearly loved wife of a noble-hearted man and the good house-mother of happy children. Perhaps fifty years after this, the world will look back to this picturesque, lovable creature, and give her a glorious resurrection.

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There is more probability of this resurrection, if we reflect that women are likely to be the popular novelists of the future, although there must always be some departments of fiction which they will be incompetent to undertake. They may preserve the finer ideals and illusions of the race, but they can never know life as a soldier, or lawyer, or a man of business can know it; nor would a man's knowledge of life be a gift that any kind fortune would bestow upon a women. There will then continue to be specialties for both sexes, though it is likely in poetry and fiction women will take the leading part. Indeed this is evident in the periodical literature of the day; for if a few numbers of the current magazines be examined, it will be seen that in the long run there are six, perhaps nine, muses to one Apollo; nor will unprejudiced criticism find appreciable difference in the quality of the work, though it may differ in kind. On the whole, it is likely that women will prove themselves to be just as good as men at their best, and just as dull as men at their worst.

But good or bad, no one can consider the young men of the rising generation, and hope much from them in a literary direction. At every university, at every petty country school, the "terms" are fast becoming mere periods for the education of the human muscles—a fact parents may consider if they please—and the interest that used to attach to the class list, and to Tripos papers, is now transferred to the ball game or the boat race. Athletic contests have certainly one moral advantage—they teach men to deserve success, and yet be prepared to suffer defeat and disappointment without losing hope or temper.

However, it is not the moral, but the literary, side of the athletic question which interests us at this time. Are young men who consider bodily strength the one thing needful, likely to give much time to mental speculation and fanciful dreaming? Are human beings who have turned themselves into machines for making a "score" likely to tell love-tales and evoke romance from their pugilistic consciousness? And if they do, what will be the character of their heroes and heroines? Will not the hero be a famous "pitcher," leaping and loving, and free from faults as from fat? And the heroine, will she not be a smart girl, enthusing her lover by wearing his colors and screaming "*'Rah! 'rah! 'rah!*" till her voice fails her?

Perhaps so; but we have more reason to expect that men

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trained in this fashion will be the *doers*, and not the dreamers, of the future. They ought to open up mines and drain lands, and drive machinery, and fight battles, and carry ships across the ocean. Thews and sinews are not needed for novel writing; but they are needed to colonize Africa and to revolutionize Asia; to fight anarchy and to protect liberty. They are needed to utilize old inventions and to perfect new ones; and these young athletes may look over the map of the world and find that thews and sinews have their work laid out for the next century.

Woman is the born story-teller of humanity, and men may very well leave her to strike the note to which the fiction of the twentieth century will respond. No one has yet prophesied how low, or how high, that note will be; but it is not likely that we shall have in the future such elaborate, careful, thoughtful work as the past has given us in *Middlemarch*, *Romola*, *Les Misérables*, or the best of Meredith's novels. The world will live too fast, and travel too fast, to read tales which are really epics and philosophy. Life will be too eager and mechanical for fine novels, though the world will never grow too old or be too busy to say, "Tell us a story." It may like to have its religion, philosophy, and politics administered in novels; but it is far more likely to ask only amusement, only the ever-welcome repetition of that old story of love, that is forever young; for when men and women seek amusement as a relief from positive work, they do not like to enter what they think is a theatre, and find it to be a temple.

If this view of novel-writing does not promise any enduring fame for novelists, if it leaves them as simple chroniclers of the work and ways of their own day, instead of writers for future ages, there is no discredit and no injury. Blessed are those who can serve their contemporaries! they have some tangible results for their labor. Posterity may mean well, but it cannot be trusted. If Byron, Keats, Carlyle, Coleridge, and others know anything now of this life, they must wish they had never written for posterity. An appreciative present is a very good thing; and to be forgotten is a greater posthumous luxury than to be tied to an eternity of human investigation, whether for praise or for disapproval.

AMELIA E. BARR.

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PUBLIC DINNERS IN LONDON.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

PERHAPS there is no country in the world in which so much is done by the system of "voluntary contributions" as in England, and in which, accordingly, the managers of charitable institutions have to keep so keen an eye open to the main chance. Hospitals, homes, and benevolent funds blessed with any special endowments are very rare with us, while state aid is practically unknown; and as a very large amount of money is annually needed for the support of the charities, useful and otherwise, of which we are, on the whole, not unjustly proud, it is necessary that something of the instinct of the showman should be combined with business tact and organizing power to make a really successful secretary or manager to any institution which is "supported by voluntary contributions."

Of late years every sort of dodge has been tried to attract the public, and every kind of bait has been used to extract the money from their not unwilling pockets. Bazaars and fancy fairs; balls and dramatic entertainments; hospital Sundays with their more or less persuasive sermons; hospital Saturdays with their young women rattling money-boxes at every street corner,—all these and many other devices, sometimes in very questionable taste, are tried in turn by the astute professional philanthropist. Nor, if we may judge from their frequent repetition, do these allurements ever fail of success. Charity is a good thing in itself, and when it can be combined with a reasonable amount of amusement it is, in the eyes of most people, still better. It is, to be sure, a pity that it should be necessary to incur so much outlay in such matters that by far the larger amount of the public money which is spent upon them should be swallowed up in expenses; but even in the sacred cause of charity people like to have something for their

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money, and it is very seldom that the subscribers waste a thought on the excessive cost of the advertising and of the entertainment which has wheedled them into such a frame of mind as to induce them to part with their half-crowns or their sovereigns, or even, in extreme cases, with their banknotes.

But all these devices are of mere mushroom growth compared with that time-honored institution, the public dinner, which was one of the primitive methods of appealing to the charitable, and which flourishes even more luxuriantly to-day than it did in its earlier years. It is, perhaps, the most extravagant and wasteful way of filling a subscription list that was ever invented, but that doesn't matter. We are a conservative people even in these days of democracy, and "advanced" principles—or want of principles—of all kinds; and the great institution of the public dinner seems to be one of those things which have attained the unassailable rank of fetish in the eyes of Englishmen of all classes, and which are not to be disturbed by any absurd considerations of the proper relation of expenditure of time and money to the ultimate result in available net cash.

It would seem as if there must be something peculiar about the public dinner, which has for generations appealed to the average Briton; and, as an institution, it must surely in its early days have possessed an enviably sound and robust constitution. For, in truth, anything more depressing to mind, body, and estate than most of the dinners of bygone days it is difficult to imagine. The Freemasons' Tavern, Willis's Rooms, the Albion in Aldersgate Street, and the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street over against the offices of the then great house of Baring, were the chief scenes of these sacrifices to dyspepsia and gout as I remember then in the later 'fifties. Sometimes a good dinner and a fair glass of wine were to be had at the Albion and the London Tavern, but, as a rule, and for the guinea which was the customary charge for a dinner ticket, the banquets were but ill-designed and ill-cooked affairs abominably served by a tribe of dirty, ill-dressed waiters, the like of whom these later days could scarcely produce, while the wine, even at this distance of time, is not to be thought of without a shudder. Bottles of a vapid, acid hock, and decanters of a sherry of a peculiarly stinging quality used to be ranged on the tables at the commencement of these remarkable feasts; a sweet liquid, which

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was supposed to fulfil all the functions of champagne if only it retained a certain friskiness for a minute or two after the cork had popped, was served in thrifty quantities during the progress of the meal, and the subsequent toasts were drunk in a specially thorny port or a fatally loaded claret, as the victim might select. Little attempt was made at table decoration. A few hideous articles of plated ware—epergnes filled with artificial flowers which could not have been expected to deceive the most innocent and credulous mind, empty wine coolers, well-worn salvers and the like—straggled in disorderly fashion about the table, and there was usually such an attempt at dessert as would have put any self-respecting kitchen-garden to shame. The waiters were as conspicuous for their rapacity in the matter of tips as for their frowsy, dirty shabbiness, their general incompetence, and their tendency to remove half-emptied bottles from the table for their own private consumption, while the ease and rapidity with which they got drunk were at least as remarkable as any of their other engaging qualities. The dinner itself was always a long, tedious affair, and it was almost a relief when the toastmaster took the chairman in hand, and the "business of the evening" began with its dreary speeches trailing their slow length among the heeltaps of the thorny port and the loaded claret, and driving the company to tamper still further with their digestions by the consumption of dried-up nuts, withered apples, and wizened grapes, which, for some inscrutable reason seemed to be universally and unsuccessfully tried as a remedy against the all-pervading boredom.

The toastmaster, in those days, was a personage of great importance, and it was almost as desirable to secure a good toastmaster as a good chairman. In fact the general conduct of the business of the meeting, unless the chairman knew all the ropes —which was not always the case—practically devolved upon the toastmaster. The most distinguished of these functionaries at the time of which I am now writing was one Harker, a portly and handsome man with formidable black whiskers and a superb bass voice which was the despair and envy of all his professianal brethren. Harker was, if I remember rightly, a crier or usher at the Old Bailey, and it is possible that something of the dignity of the presiding judges clung to him and gave him a certain impressiveness as he waved his baton, or whatever substitute represented

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it at the moment, and demanded "silence faw the chair." Harker was popular with chairmen; firstly, because he could post them up thoroughly in their work, and, secondly, because he was a person of infinite tact, discretion, and sobriety. In these respects he did not resemble another toastmaster whom I knew very well. This functionary, I remember, at a dinner over which my father presided, had been making himself even unusually officious and meddlesome until the chairman, who knew his business thoroughly, could bear it no longer. So, by the hands of the toastmaster himself, he sent me a pencilled note, which the gentleman delivered with a whiskeyfied little speech to the effect that he was sure it meant something kindly for somebody from the "dear, good dad," but which simply contained the words: "For Heaven's sake get rid of this man for me; he is worrying me to death."

Those were the days of long, long speeches, and plenty of them, mostly from perfectly incompetent speakers; of the reading of dreary lists of figures by secretaries who had never been taught the simple art of making themselves heard in a large room; of a general depression of spirits which set in early and which no amount of liquid refreshment could assuage; and the odd part of all was that all this sort of thing had been going on in almost exactly the same way for years and years. My experience of public dinners began in about the year 1856. Twenty years before, one of the *Sketches by Boz* had dealt with public dinners, and really all that time had made little or no difference, and had brought about little or no improvement. It might almost have been said of almost any public dinner in 1856 as it had been of the dinner of the "Indigent Orphans' Friends' Benevolent Institution" in 1836, that

> "waiters, with wine baskets in their hands, are placing decanters of sherry down the tables at very respectable distances; melancholy looking salt-cellars, and decayed vinegar-cruets, which might have belonged to the parents of the indigent orphans in their time, are scattered at distant intervals on the cloth; and the knives and forks look as if they had done duty at every public dinner in London since the accession of George the First."

Still might it have been said of the dinner itself:

> "Tureens of soup are emptied with awful rapidity—waiters take plates of turbot away to get lobster sauce, and bring back plates of lobster sauce without turbot; people who can carve poultry are great fools if they own it, and people who can't, have no wish to learn."

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Still was it true that :

"The chairman rises, and, after stating that he feels it quite unnecessary to preface the toast he is about to propose with any observations whatever wanders into a maze of sentences, and flounders about in the most extraordinary manner, presenting a lamentable spectacle of mystified humanity, until he arrives at the words 'constitutional sovereign of these realms,' at which elderly gentlemen exclaim 'bravo,' and hammer the table tremendously with their knife-handles."

Very little, indeed, has been changed in the course of that twenty years, and it is really astonishing how such a state of things could have continued so long and how it was that the public dinner did not, years ago, die the death which it so well deserved.

But the time for reform was coming, although not immediately, and the strange vitality of the public dinner enabled it to survive until there set in the wonderful alterations in public manners and customs ; the astonishing change in the ideas of the average Briton in regard to gregarious eating and drinking ; the complete subversion and destruction of old habits, old fashions, and old ways of doing things ; the practical rebuilding and rearrangement of London ; the reforming off the face of the earth of so much that Mrs. Grundy held dear ; which progressed with a thoroughness and rapidity that almost took away the breath of Londoners of the old school. The first sign of the startling changes to come was noticeable, I think, when Messrs. Spiers and Pond invaded us from Australia and taught us that the peculiar bill of fare and the remarkable arrangements for the discomfort of the public which were so faithfully chronicled in the veracious history of the *Boy at Mugby* were really not governed by any fixed and immutable law of nature, but were subject to alteration and improvement like any of the other arrangements of the sons of men. Presently the restaurateurs followed suit, and instead of the half-dozen decent places—I don't even think there were so many—in which one could dine in public thirty or forty years ago, a crop of handsome, commodious, and convenient restaurants has sprung up, with the result that the old absurd idea that there was something "fast" and almost improper about dining in a public room, especially for ladies, vanished into the limbo which has of late years swallowed so many absurdities, and all the habits of an immense number of Londoners became practically changed altogether. Then came

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the era of great hotels, and when some of these began to lay themselves out for the entertainment of great numbers of people in handsomely furnished and conveniently arranged rooms, specially built for the purpose, the public dinner took a new lease of life and started on what promises to be a career of greater success and prosperity than ever.

I am not going to assert that the new order is perfect. It is, in fact, a long way from being anything of the sort. But its superiority over the old state of things is not to be questioned. You do not always get a first-rate dinner even now at the Criterion, the Freemasons, the Café Royal, the Albion, or the Metropole, but you do assuredly get a meal which, whether for its component parts, its cooking, or its service, is immeasurably better than such things used to be. It is, no doubt, still well to be at the chairman's table, and the casual member of the general public who is allotted a remote seat at a distant table still, as a rule, fares worse than those in higher places, but even he is better off than the chairman's own immediate friends were years ago, and will have in all probability a better dinner than he could have hoped for in the 'thirties, the 'forties, the 'fifties, or the 'sixties. It is still more than suspected that the vintages which are provided for the guests at the upper table are more desirable than those which are served out to meaner mortals, but, at all events, the days of that stinging sherry and that thorny port are over, and for the temperate consumer there is little or no likelihood—which in earlier times was almost a certainty—of waking in the morning with a sensation of having been poisoned overnight. Cloakroom arrangements are so much improved that one may fairly hope to get one's own hat and coat when one goes away, which is a considerable gain when one remembers the old story—"Hat, sir? Oh, all the best hats have been gone this hour." The waiters are a different race altogether from their predecessors. I don't mean to say that there is not sometimes very considerable room for improvement, but the modern men have little indeed in common with the shabby genteel, tipsy, baksheesh-grabbing, incompetents of old days. Baksheesh is certainly still expected, and occasionally asked for with more urgency than politeness, but you may console yourself by thinking that if you do give a waiter a tip nowadays you generally have had pretty fair value for

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your money, and that was rarely the case in times gone by. Most of the managers of places where public dinners are given profess that their waiters are strictly forbidden to receive tips, and I remember being quite seriously taken to task by one of them when I ventured to remonstrate in print on a particularly flagrant case of extortion which came under my immediate notice a few years ago at a dinner of the Royal General Theatrical Fund. I was told then—and have been told since—that inspectors, or superintendents, or managers, or some such functionaries are always on the watch, and that any waiter who takes a tip is summarily discharged, but I know this to be a light-hearted little fiction similar to that which is kept up in like manner by the railway companies. Besides, really good waiters are scarce, even now and can practically dictate their own terms. And, again, if tips were really and seriously forbidden, the cloakroom attendant would not be provided with that plate containing a few shillings and sixpences, which he now and then accidentally rattles in so very suggestive a manner.

And there is yet another vast improvement which conspicuously marks the public dinners of to-day. Not only are the dinners themselves, the rooms, the wine, the service immeasurably better than they were; the speeches have shared in the general "betterment," and are very seldom so prolix or so ill-delivered as were those of yore. It may be that Englishmen generally have come more out of their shells, and are less embarrassed when they foregather with their fellow-creatures in public places than they were, but it is an indisputable fact that the average of public speaking in England—or, at all events, let me say in London, as it is to London that I am more particularly referring—has been very much raised of late years. Something of the improvement, no doubt, is due to the Prince of Wales, who set the excellent example of making short speeches—besides doing still further service to his fellow-diners by introducing smoking after dinner. But, whatever the reason or reasons may be, you will hear infinitely more good, or reasonably good, after-dinner speaking now than was to be got in the old days. There is no one living, I think, who can equal or come near my father, who was the very best after-dinner speaker I ever heard, besides being one of the best and most resourceful of chairmen; but I am sure I can count many more speakers of the first class now than I could at any

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previous time. As might perhaps be expected, it is at the theatrical dinners that most of the best speakers are to be heard. Mr. Henry Irving has trained himself into an excellent after-dinner speaker; Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Beerbohm Tree, and Mr. Charles Wyndham all talk well; Mr. Comyns Carr's speeches are always charming, both from the literary and elocutionary points of view; and Mr. Arthur Pinero has no superior—I might almost say no real rival—among the best of them all. Literature is not very strong just now in this department, and the speeches at the dinners of the Royal Literary Fund and similar institutions are apt to be deadly dull, but Mr. W. E. Lecky speaks very well, if not so well as he writes, and Mr. George Augustus Sala has long been distinguished for the capital speeches which he can make about anything or nothing, as the case may be, with an energy a readiness, and a wealth of illustration and anecdote which call up reminiscences of the immortal Fred Bayham himself. A most delightful after-dinner speaker was James Russell Lowell—but then he was an American, and most cultivated Americans have the gift of eloquent speech; and Edmund Yates, whom we lost only the other day, could speak very well on occasion, although he was sometimes too didactic, and although I remember his once breaking down altogether, and subsiding in the middle of a speech absolutely dumb and covered with confusion.

The after-dinner speeches of politicians are apt to be troubled with reminiscences of the manner and the style which find favor on the platform or in the House of Commons, but Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain are quite as good, though in a different way, after dinner as they are in business hours. Scientific after-dinner speaking is apt to deal too exclusively with shop, relieved by that mild jocularity which is so dear to the scientific mind; and art, with one exception, makes but little mark after dinner. That exception is to be found, of course, in the magnificent sesquipedalian periods of Sir Frederic Leighton, the President of the Royal Academy, whose ornate and florid style easily beats even Mr. Chauncey Depew in the American's most magnificent moments, and who serves his complimentary butter—in prodigious quantities—from a lordly dish, indeed. The Prince of Wales is not a great speaker, but always says what he has to say in a thoroughly business-like style and with an air of conviction, which leads to a feeling of some surprise when you

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read the speech next day in the papers, and discover how very little there was in it after all. Above all things His Royal Highness has cultivated the virtues of conciseness and brevity, and never could, by any chance, bore anybody. I should not like to suggest that one could say the same of all after-dinner speakers, but a thoroughly bad speech is quite the exception in these times, and modern audiences have an uncomfortable habit of taking things into their own hands when a speaker shows indications of not knowing when to stop.

Among the other great changes which have come over the public dinner the question of the selection of a chairman is one of the notable. Once upon a time a noble lord—practically any noble lord would do—was almost indispensable, and the old Duke of Cambridge easily held the record, I should think, for the number of occasions on which he had appealed to an after-dinner audience in the cause of charity. Nowadays, when the general public is to be got at, there is little faith in ordinary lords, and it is even whispered that Royalty, unless under very special circumstances, is no longer a sure draw. To the officials of the older and wealthier charities this is not a matter of great importance. Their dinners are supported mainly by friends of the institution itself, and any gentleman of position and influence who is well known to them makes as useful a chairman as anybody else, and has as good a chance of drawing a satisfactory subscription list. But the capture of the latest celebrity, the representative of the very newest "boom," is of the greatest importance to the anxious secretaries and committees of the smaller charities, who have to offer the public a fair equivalent for its money, and necessitates an amount of ingenuity and diplomacy which would surprise most people who do not know how much working such things want. And when the great chairman question is satisfactorily settled a considerable amount of tact and skill has to be brought to bear to advertise the show properly to the public, which has become by this time a little shy and wary in such matters. All sorts of tricks are tried, but the managers of some of the older and more conservative charities, when they have secured the services of a first-class peer, still pin their faith on an extremely old dodge which was described as far back as the time when Mr. Boffin came into his fortune.

"And then the charities, my Christian brother!" says the

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author of *Our Mutual Friend,* who had as much experience of public dinners as most people.

"And mostly in difficulties, yet most lavish, too, in the expensive articles of print and paper. Large, fat, private double letter, sealed with ducal coronet. 'Nicodemus Boffin, Esquire. My Dear Sir—Having consented to preside at the forthcoming Annual Dinner of the Family Party Fund, and feeling deeply impressed with the immense usefulness of that noble Institution and the great importance of its being supported by a List of Stewards that shall prove to the public the interest taken in it by popular and distinguished men, I have undertaken to ask you to become a Steward on that occasion. Soliciting your favorable reply before the 14th instant, I am. My Dear Sir, your faithful Servant, LINSEED. P. S.—The Steward's fee is limited to three Guineas.' Friendly this, on the part of the Duke of Linseed (and thoughtful in the postscript), only lithographed by the hundred and presenting but a pale individuality of address to Nicodemus Boffin, Esquire, in quite another hand."

That this device is still popular argues a singular want of invention on the part of secretaries and committees, or, what is more likely, a constant and surprising gullibility on the part of some sections of the world of London. But that public dinners should still meet with so much favor as they still enjoy is in itself so remarkable a fact as to dwarf any minor details.

Finally, it may be noted that the attempt to popularize the presence of ladies at table at public dinners has met with but indifferent success.

CHARLES DICKENS.

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THE BUSINESS REVIVAL.

BY EDWARD KEMBLE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; JAMES M. GLENN, PRESIDENT OF THE CINCINNATI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; A. K. MILLER, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND WILLIAM G. BOYD, PRESIDENT OF THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE OF ST. LOUIS.

EDWARD KEMBLE, ESQ.:

It must be conceded that the business of the country continues in a depressed condition. There may be one or two lines which are satisfactory, and there may be, and probably is, an increased volume; but returns are generally unsatisfactory, and considering the business of the country as a whole, it is in a depressed condition still. The producer, the "wage-earner," the manufacturer, the middle man, the man depending upon permanent investments,—all are dissatisfied, if not embarrassed, by the small returns which they are obliged to accept. As the country grows older, indeed, the percentage of gain from many sources will grow less, although the volume of exchanges will increase. But this is a matter which it is not proposed to discuss here.

Prosperity is in abeyance. While cotton and wheat and labor and freight transportation are selling at unremunerative prices and at the lowest prices ever known, prosperity can scarcely be expected.

In this connection it may be remarked that *very* large crops in a succession of years are not to be ardently desired, unless foreign markets are in a condition to take the surplus. This country is wont to congratulate itself upon the gathering of great

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harvests, as if prosperity were thereby assured. This is not always the case. Peace and plenty do not always insure prosperity, or what is called prosperity by this country. We have lately heard a good deal about the "failure" of the corn crop. It has not failed, but will be a moderate crop. In consequence the price of corn has largely advanced, and it is probable this moderate corn crop will represent a greater money value than the very large crop, which was promised and predicted in June last, would have commanded had it been secured. Furthermore, the advance in the price of corn has brought about a considerable rise in the price of hog and hog products; and hog, one of the staple commodities, can be produced from wheat, which is selling not only lower than ever before, but lower than corn—a fact which is unprecedented. This state of things will result later on in a benefit to the producer, very likely, by enhancing the price of wheat, and it is not impossible after all that this "failure of the corn crop" may prove a veritable boon!

But the business of the country, considered as a whole, continues depressed and unprofitable. The settlement of the tariff question has not changed this condition. It is not intended to deny that some interests directly affected by the tariff have been relieved by its settlement; but they are insignificant when the business of the whole country is considered. There was a sentimental feeling, which prevailed to some extent, that, the tariff settled, business must, of course, revive; and a small spasm in the direction of improvement was, for a moment, evident; but the settlement of the tariff has not changed, or in any way affected, the value of cotton, corn, wheat, or hog, or placed the producer and the "wage-earner" in a better position to become good customers and make demand: it has, however, together with the adjournment of Congress, removed two disturbing elements. Some other matters, too, which aggravated the situation are no longer present. The extreme anxiety concerning the gold supply or reserve, and the general fear and doubt, have disappeared. The labor question, though not solved, is less threatening. Liabilities in all directions have been reduced, and confidence, a very important element, is restored. So the *situation* is better. Business is not much better; but the *situation*, as compared with that of last winter, is very much better, and the chances for improvement in business are good.

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Yet there is no one thing, or two or three things, which can be discerned as conspicuous signs of promise; and the marked depression still existing in foreign countries is, no doubt, one bar to improvement here.

The new tariff, in one respect at least, has worked an injury; namely, in causing the abrogation of reciprocity treaties. The principle of reciprocity is popular in this country, and deservedly so. Without question it is indorsed by a majority of the people, irrespective of party. The very word itself is a synonyme for soundness, wisdom, mutual benefit, comity. The abrogation of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada, which occurred years ago, was a serious business mistake, and a political mistake as well. Since that time, and after a long period, Congress recognized the principle again, and reciprocity treaties have, in late years, been made with several foreign countries, though not yet again, it is to be regretted, with Canada. In every case this treaty has been found advantageous, not only to the manufacturer, but to the producer and consumer also. Under it exports, especially of natural products, have largely increased, while the free imports have been an advantage to the consumer. Because of the duties levied against them by the new tariff, both Spain and Brazil have abrogated this treaty. So we are again set back in this matter of reciprocity, and another business and political mistake has been made. It may not be easy to renew these treaties with those countries, even should Congress desire to do so.

It is appalling to see how important matters touching the welfare of the whole country are lost sight of by the Congress in the scrambling contests of special and political and personal interests. Nothing comes so near causing despair of the republic as these contests, and the very peculiar and undignified manner in which they are carried on. There was never a period in the history of the country, probably, when the interests of business were so keenly sensitive to the conduct and methods and tone of Congressional deliberation and action as in the period now passing. There is a growing distrust, an increasing fear, of legislation. Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade are obliged to be constantly alert, and feel it necessary to take action in regard to matters which ought not for a moment to have any standing in legislative councils, and to urge attention to others which

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seem likely to be overlooked; and so, instead of devoting their entire attention to their own more legitimate affairs, it is more or less diverted in watching and protesting to the Congress. It is a duty of these bodies, of course, to keep themselves informed in reference to affairs, and to utter their opinions when necessary or proper; but this ought not to be necessary very often. The growing tendency to legislate for party; the apparently growing belief on the part of a minority that its legitimate duty is to hamper and harass and possibly to defeat the will of the majority, even though the proposed legislation may be wise,—is an unfortunate peculiarity of modern politics, and is disturbing to business affairs. This criticism may be applied also to State legislatures to a considerable extent. It looks very much, sometimes, as if it were party first and the country afterwards.

The prosperity of a country depends upon the prosperity of the many, not upon the prosperity of a few. A perplexing and serious question has arisen, in connection with the startling growth in this country of great aggregations of capital, as to their good or bad effect: the formation of "trusts," as some are called; the consolidation of great corporations—railroad corporations, for instance. Within a few days an elaborate article has appeared in one of the magazines advocating the consolidation of all the principal railroad properties into one system, or, at most, three systems. It is very questionable if great business combinations, whether corporate or otherwise, are beneficial on the whole to the country. They are more likely to be injurious, even if they can be well managed, which is doubtful. Consolidation begets consolidation and concentration of power. The larger the dealer the greater the concessions he demands and receives, and the smaller dealer must go to the wall. It is undoubtedly better for the country when business of fifty millions of dollars per annum is divided among fifty firms than when this amount is done by one firm; and decidedly better for the purity of politics. Notwithstanding these difficulties, business will revive and flourish. The savings, the economies, the convulsions, of the past three years have made this possible; and it may not prove a wild prophecy now to predict that the next five years will witness an era of great prosperity.

EDWARD KEMBLE.

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JAMES M. GLENN, ESQ.:

So far as the city of Cincinnati and the territory commercially tributary in a close sense are concerned, the conditions attending industrial interests have not been essentially distinctive from experiences in other portions of the country. This city, as a conspicuously commercial and manufacturing centre, naturally suffered alike with other localities in the depression of 1893, although there has been much to support the view that the experiences here in this direction were less severe than those generally prevalent elsewhere.

Pending the uncertainties attending political procedures with reference to the policy governing foreign commerce, our city and this region shared with other portions of the country the sense of hesitation and of halting which allowed a process of reduction and elimination of the surplus products of labor to go on, until a time prior to reaching final conclusions in Congress, when there was such a revival in demand for many lines of staple products that important changes were inaugurated and business assumed enlarging proportions.

This was notably so in the dry-goods interest, the shoe trade, in clothing, in machinery and metal products generally, and various other channels. This advance movement in the direction of enlarging operations, prior to the final settlement of the tariff question, naturally modified any immediate influence which such legislation had upon business matters, so that the revival in industrial affairs of a significant nature, which many believed would follow at once on the conclusion of the tariff controversy, has not been fully realized, and in some sense there has been disappointment. But it is fair to say that the evidences of a better and more promising order of affairs are positive—that the turning-point from conditions of depression to a shaping in the direction of enlargement in the employment of labor has been reached and passed, and that conditions of comparative comfort are steadily displacing those of distress among the industrial classes.

It is true that while there is a revival of the operations of business there remains the inevitable condition of low values of products in general, and a consequent restriction upon the wage power of the employing interests. It is useless in a general way to draw comparisons with earlier years, as to values of products or

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prices rendered for productive labor, for the revolutionizing influences of the economies which have been introduced and which are still developing render such comparisons misleading, and in more or less degree give encouragement to a sense of dissatisfaction which is abundantly present at all times among wage-earners.

The trade in this city looks forward to an early restoration of former proportions of activity in all important branches of in-industry. The agricultural interests in all this region have, as a whole, fared well the past season, though there have been some drawbacks in particular localities and instances. The country south of us, as has been well shown in many ways, is developing its productive resources more steadily and decidedly than in the past: and this fact, with the transportation facilities which this market commands in that direction, naturally promotes in high degree business intercourse to mutual advantage.

Here at Cincinnati we feel that any measures or conditions which may be brought forward calculated to widen the commercial prosperity of the South, or of the Mississippi Valley region west and southwest of us, must necessarily have a helpful influence upon the affairs of our own particular region.

The South this season has been favored with an enormous crop of cotton, and an exceptionally large production of corn, with also an excellent yield of tobacco, and although market prices may be low, especially as to cotton, the fact remains that the cost of production, taking into consideration not only the question of labor, but recognizing the complete utilization of the by-product which was formerly wasted, is now greatly reduced, and the net result is a favorable one. The sugar interest, stimulated by the bounty provision, and strengthened in its position, has unfortunately been confronted with a modification of direct benefits, but it is to be hoped that existing hardships may be but temporary, and that this important industry may steadily continue in advancement, accompanied ultimately with remunerative results. The production of rice in the South is extending, and will undoubtedly assume very greatly enlarged proportions in the near future. The lumber resources of the South are being more and more brought into prominence, attracting capital for its preparation for market, widening the employment of labor, and adding to the available wealth of the community.

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The enlarging commerce in the direction of Central America and South America, and the important accomplishment in transcontinental transportation afforded by the completion of the Tehuantepec Railway, are features which give assurance of increasing industrial activities in our region, and afford an encouraging outlook.

These are some of the conditions now in sight in our commercial affairs which give promise of a steady revival of business and prosperity, through the enlarging employment of labor, the increasing call for its products, and the more complete transportation facilities which serve the ends of commerce.

JAMES M. GLENN.

A. K. MILLER, ESQ.:

THE general business of New Orleans is better now than at this time last year. It can scarcely be called a revival of business, however, for there was never any very serious interruption here, except for a short time last summer, and the improvement has been gradual but steady ever since. There has been no sudden change, no awakening of trade as it were, and certainly no revival due to the passage of the tariff bill or to any other legislation by Congress. The Wilson Bill, as it passed, and particularly the subsequent legislation of the House known as the "pop-gun" sugar bill, have offset whatever advantages a change or improvement of the tariff might otherwise have brought us by reviving our foreign trade, and they have, on the contrary, materially and unfavorably affected general business. The improvement that has occurred has been in spite of the action of Congress. Had there been no tariff legislation, the revival would have come all the same, and would, indeed, have been far more pronounced than it is. As far as Louisiana and New Orleans are concerned, it is as though Congress had passed an act to stimulate trade and then put an addendum to it repealing all the provisions of the bill and annulling its own work.

Of the four products of Louisiana, three—sugar, rice, and lumber—are unfavorably affected by the legislation of Congress, and the business dependent on them has been reduced in consequence. Outside of New Orleans, lumber is the chief manufactured product of the State. The lumber industry has developed rapidly in the last few years—a threefold increase since 1885—largely through

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the influence of Western capital. A number of gentlemen who had been actively engaged in the lumber industry in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin bought heavily of Louisiana pine and cypress lands before these advanced so much in value, erected the necessary mills, and went to work so energetically that they soon trebled the business, finding new markets for their products, mainly in the West. The financial crisis of last spring, which, in the earlier stages, was so much more pronounced in the West than in other sections, struck the lumber industry first, and a number of mills shut down, or reduced their production, before the stringency was felt here by any other establishments. It was, of course, a temporary shock due to the tying up of capital. Business was reviving from it when the free-lumber section of the Wilson Bill gave it a second shock, from which it is still suffering. The lumbermen complain that they will be shut out of the markets of the Northwest by the competition of Canada. How far they will be affected remains to be seen, but the schedule has certainly checked a revival, which had set in four or five months ago.

The rice farmers have filed protests to the rice schedule of the Wilson Bill. The original schedule, although the duty was materially reduced, was eminently satisfactory to them, but, through some trick, it was so changed in the Senate as to make the differential between cleaned and uncleaned rice so great as to benefit Chinese, at the expense of American, rice. Whatever harm may be ultimately caused by this has been offset for the time being by the war between China and Japan, which has strengthened the market so that the rice farmers have no present cause of complaint, whatever the future may bring them.

It is the sugar schedule, however, and the attitude of the House towards sugar, which have undone any good that the Wilson Bill might otherwise have brought with it, and which have checked reviving business and have prevented as great an improvement as we would have a right to expect. The loss of the bounty on the crop of 1894, which the planters had been led to expect and which they had, indeed, been promised, has seriously upset and checked business in southern Louisiana; and the improvement we have mentioned as having taken place in spite of this setback, shows how healthy and encouraging the outlook has been. The bounty, however it may be regarded as a political measure, certainly stimulated the sugar industry and doubled its

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production in three years' time. It necessitated the use of the most improved machinery in order to produce sugar of a high grade, that being necessary in order to get the full bounty. The result was a general overhauling of the machinery and the purchase each season of from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 of new rollers, boilers, and other machinery, and probably as much more in supplies. These purchases were made almost exclusively in New Orleans, and at this season of the year before the crops have begun coming in; and they tended to give an activity to summer and fall trade it had never enjoyed before. The sugar-planters had cultivated their crops under full expectation of the bounty and under promise of it. As soon as they found that they were not going to get it, or certainly not for the present, they stopped their orders and even withdrew such as they could, and cut down their expenses to the lowest limit. This has naturally affected the trade of New Orleans somewhat unfavorably. But what has caused the greatest uncertainty, disturbance, and uneasiness has been the passage by the House of the "popgun" bill in favor of free sugar. This has brought about a political upheaval in southern Louisiana. I will not discuss the political side of the matter, but the material and industrial effects of the threat have been marked, and the coincidence of a fall in the price of the sugar, just previous to the harvesting of the crop, has been most unfortunate. It has checked all purchases by the planters that could be avoided and has reduced the volume of business in the sugar district from 10 to 25 per cent. The planters have not yet decided how they will meet the difficulty except by reducing expenses. A convention has been called to consider the question of wages, and there is now little doubt of a reduction of 20 per cent. throughout the sugar district, affecting perhaps 80,000 persons. This will, of course, be felt in New Orleans, as all the purchases are made in this city. It might be well to mention here that the sugar crop last year, and the bounty on it, did much to relieve the financial stringency. The crop was a large one, prices were good, and the money received for it came at the very time when the stringency was the most pressing.

These are the chief results of the Wilson Bill as far as Louisiana and New Orleans are concerned. It will be seen that its influence has been bad; that it has had a tendency to check commercial revival; and that if there has been any improvement, it

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has been in spite of the tariff legislation, and due to other causes.

The bank clearances indicate an improvement of about ten per cent., and this may be taken as representing the average business advance over last year. Cotton receipts here have almost doubled, and, in spite of the low price of cotton,—the lowest ever known,—the increase in receipts makes itself felt and more than offsets the loss in the grain trade; but where the improvement is most marked is in manufactures and numerous petty industries. The steady drift in New Orleans for years past has been from commerce to manufactures. Twenty years ago New Orleans was given up almost exclusively to commerce, to the handling of the agricultural products of the South and West, and not one-sixth of its working population was employed in manufactures; whereas to-day more than one-half are so employed. The industries are varied, and becoming more so each year, and are giving new activity, or rather activity in new lines, to our business. These factories scarcely felt the financial crisis. The lumbermen suffered slightly, but less in the city than in the country districts; and our largest cotton-mill reduced its output; but these were almost the only establishments that were affected unfavorably; and the manufactured output of New Orleans for the twelve months will exceed that of any year in its history. Moreover, there has been an activity in public improvements which has given employment to nearly all the idle labor here and given a remarkable stimulus to business of all kinds. The amount of paving done has never been equalled before; the work of sewering New Orleans has finally begun; and the conversion of our very extensive street-car system from the old-fashioned mule traction, which has so long prevailed, to electricity has alone called for the investment of several million dollars. The building trades have for the past three years shown an exceptional activity, due to the drift of population into new districts because of the extension of the street-car system, and the demand for modern houses instead of the old damp and dismal ones of which there was such an excess in New Orleans. In these building trades alone, there is an improvement of over fifty per cent. as compared with three years ago.

Most of these matters which I have mentioned as having had an exhilarating effect on trade are, it will be noticed, local. I do

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not, of course, mean to say that New Orleans is living entirely on itself; but that it now supplies its country patrons with many manufactured products which formerly had to be imported from the North and West.

In regard to the marketing of agricultural products, one important—and the most important—fact should be constantly kept in mind: that while prices are phenomenally low—cotton, our great staple, having reached the lowest figure ever known—the crops have been raised at far less cost than heretofore, so that the net profit to the farmer is actually greater than when he got better prices. The financial crisis of last spring, the inability of the farmers to get advances, the necessity of getting down to "bed-rock" in the matter of expenses, all compelled them to cut off all superfluities, and also induced them to go more extensively into the cultivation of such food products as they needed. Appreciating the fact that they would have no money advances with which to make purchases of Western produce, corn, oats, etc., they planted grain, potatoes, and whatever they needed, and fortunately harvested magnificent crops. All the crops have been good and the bulk yield of the South this year will be the largest ever turned out. This is especially so of corn. The failure of the Western crop has so sent up the price of that article that the Southern farmers would have been bankrupted this season if they had been compelled to buy as much of it as in former years.

It may be said briefly that, both in quality and quantity, the Southern crops have never been exceeded, and that, because of the very financial crisis, they have been raised at a minimum of cost. I could say a great deal here of the great economies practised, of the industry shown by the farmers and all classes, and the improved methods used, but it is unnecessary—it is well understood. When the agricultural statistics for the year are published, and it is shown how much the Southern farmer has made from one acre of land, so much more than ever before, and how he has given his attention to crops which he formerly considered too trifling to turn his hand to, it will then be plain why there has been an improvement in business here, or as it might be called a revival. But that revival is due wholly to the people, to their energy, industry, and economy, and not to any legislation of Congress. So far as the Wilson Bill is concerned, with the free sugar annex in the House, it has proved only an injury and a

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threat to this section, and there can be no feeling of complete confidence until it is determined whether Congress intends to leave the sugar schedule and the sugar question where they now are, or begin new agitation and attempt new legislation on the subject, before the country has had an opportunity to test the present law.

A. K. MILLER.

WM. G. BOYD, ESQ.:

MR. CHAUNCEY DEPEW, on returning to New York last April, after a trip of three thousand seven hundred miles through the West, described the general result of his investigations as unsatisfactory, and enlarged upon the general depression in the leading cities at which the party stopped over. In an interview with a New York daily paper he enlarged upon this subject, qualifying his statement with the words

"but while the business depression and unprecedented number of unemployed are the common condition of our Western States, we found one conspicuous exception, and that was St. Louis. St. Louis seemed to be doing as much business, and in a more prosperous condition, than ever before. Its local industries are active and healthy, and its merchants, with all that means in the way of employment, are doing an increasing and profitable business."*

It is now nearly six months since Mr. Depew thus placed himself on record, and the events that have occurred since his visit here have more than justified his reading of the situation. The revival of trade and commerce in St. Louis during the present year has been general; in some instances it has even been phenomenal.

During the spring, when there was a consensus of local opinion that the tariff question would be settled without delay, there was a great renewal of enterprise and activity; and although the subsequent delays in Congress were discouraging, the termination of the period of uncertainty promptly removed the last and only hindrance to progress, and reports received by the Merchants' Exchange from almost every section indicate that the revival is of a most substantial and healthful character.

To grasp the situation thoroughly at this point, it must be borne in mind that the year 1892 was the most prosperous in the history of St. Louis. The actual street frontage covered by new

* Extract from interview published April 20, 1894.

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buildings during that year was thirty-nine miles, and the new structures included three buildings costing more than a million dollars each, several buildings each costing more than a million, and a total of 5,500 buildings costing more than $20,000,000. The Clearing-House returns showed an increase on any previous year of more than nine per cent., and the clearings for December, 1892, and January, 1893, beat the previous best on record for the two holiday trade months by eleven per cent. This rate of improvement was maintained during the spring of 1893, and the business of the local banks gained steadily up to and inclusive of May, which month ran seventeen per cent. above May of 1892.

The financial depression which paralyzed business throughout the entire country during the succeeding six months, reduced the volume of the bank clearings and the trade returns very significantly, but St. Louis was fortunate in going through the crisis without a single bank failure. No clearing-house certificates were issued, nor did a single financial institution, nor any of our large manufacturing, jobbing, or retail houses suspend payment for a single day. The only large failure in the neighborhood was of a car factory on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River. This factory has resumed business during the last sixty days and has given employment to six hundred men, the majority of whom reside in this city.

The general confidence in the stability of St. Louis, established by this exceptional record during the national crisis of 1893, enabled the city to recover with ease from the depression of trade which the curtailment or orders from outside points rendered unavoidable.

Even in January, 1894, the bank clearings were larger than for any corresponding month, except that of 1893, but the gain in the bank clearings became more marked after the close of the second quarter. The total for the month of July showed an increase of thirty per cent. The September totals are equally satisfactory, and, judging from the reports of wholesale and retail concerns of orders received and contracts signed, the volume of business for October, 1894, will be the largest ever recorded in St. Louis for that month.

In many respects the post-office receipts are a good index of the condition of local trade and commerce. Thus the total receipts at the St. Louis post-office during the months of July,

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August, and September, 1892, were $346,885. In 1893 the total for these three months fell to $325,654, but in 1894 the total exceeds $359,641, exclusive of two or three concluding days of September, not ready for publication at this time of writing. It will thus be seen that while the total of 1893 showed a decrease for these three critical months of six per cent. as compared with 1892, the revival this year has been so marked that the total is eleven per cent. better than 1893, and even four and a half per cent. better than for the phenomenally prosperous ninety days ending September 30, 1892.

Another very reliable index of the condition of business is to be found in the railroad freight returns. St. Louis is the distributing centre of an immense area of country, and while the railroads' earnings generally have shown a marked tendency towards improvement, the returns of the roads centering in St. Louis have been exceptionally good. I have caused careful inquiry as to trade revival to be made among the different manufacturing and jobbing trades, and especially those in which this city is conspicuous for the volume of trade transacted. During the last ten years St. Louis has risen from the bottom to the top among shoe manufacturing centres. To-day I cannot learn of a single shoe factory which is not running full time, or which is not doing a larger business than in 1893. Several even report better business than in 1892. Men's-clothing manufacturers report orders from all sections much better since the adjournment of Congress, and the numerous wholesale dry-goods houses all agree that the fall trade is excellent. This is a very important centre for both hardware and woodenware, and great activity prevails in both lines.

In the building and accessory trades, such as brickmaking, planing-mills, iron foundries, etc., the revival has naturally been somewhat less marked. But the low prices of materials during the spring and early summer caused a renewal of building activity, and at the present time the factories are all active. Our phenomenally large breweries and tobacco factories were hampered in their operations this summer by the strike in adjoining coalfields, and in some instances ran behind in their orders. Full time is now being made and the output is very satisfactory, showing gains in almost every department.

In the limited space allotted me I cannot deal with each industry

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separately, but the result of inquiries by reliable men justifies me in stating that there is no exception to the rule, and that the period of depression—I do not say "panic," because there was no panic here—is now nothing more than a memory.

There are a few other causes, indications, and results of trade revival in St. Louis and vicinity that must at least be referred to. The attitude of the city during the recent railroad strike has been favorably commented upon throughout the entire country. The Merchants' Exchange, supported by the leading manufacturers and merchants, took a firm stand in the interests of law and order from the outset, and resolutely declined to budge one inch from the policy adopted, all pressure and prayers to the contrary notwithstanding. Our leading daily papers were emphatic from the outset in their denunciation of the methods adopted by the strikers, and public opinion sustained the Merchants' Exchange and the press so unanimously that there was no disorder, scarcely any interruption in traffic, and little or no attention paid to orders to strike. The way St. Louis passed through what might otherwise have been a trying ordeal shows the firmness of its business leaders and the solidity of its business and financial institutions.

The opening of the new Union Station, conceded to be the largest in the world, has proved another stimulus to trade and enterprise. The excitement caused by this event has not yet abated, although the depot has been opened more than a month. St. Louis, although credited by the last national census with being one of the largest railroad centres in the world, had for years been hampered by a depot utterly out of line with its surroundings, and the improvement in the provisions for the accommodation of passengers is in keeping with the general improvement of the city.

In May of this year the new Burlington inlet to St. Louis was opened for traffic. By aid of new bridges over the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroads acquired by this line direct access to St. Louis, and an immense sum has been spent in yards and terminals. The new road opens up to St. Louis trade an enormous section covering north Missouri, Iowa, and adjoining States, and already business with the towns on the routes is quite extensive.

More recently we have witnessed the opening of a two million

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dollar hotel, towards the erection of which our people subscribed $100,000 as a bonus; and another large hotel is nearly finished.

Lastly, the eleventh annual St. Louis Exposition reports a larger attendance to date than in any one of its ten preceding seasons. Last year trade depression caused the attendance to fall to about half a million, but this year the improvement in business is being reflected conspicuously both in the crowds of city residents and country visitors which are seen daily within the Exposition Building. St. Louis is the only city in the world which has a self-supporting annual exposition, and the way in which the institution is being supported this year bears out the general sentiment as to the completeness of the trade revival as well as the accuracy of the forecasts of still greater improvement.

WM. G. BOYD.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

EDUCATING A DAUGHTER.

THE Census of 1880 showed that out of a population of some sixty millions there were in the United States not more than 2,647,157 women working for wages. The Census of 1890 will—when available—no doubt show a considerable increase in these figures, but even thus enlarged they will, no doubt, fall far below the average person's imaginary estimate of the number of women whom modern economic conditions have forced out of the home into a battle with the world.

Even of this unexpectedly small proportion of female wage-earners about 900,000 are employed in domestic service, and Helen Campbell, in *Women's Work and Wages*, asserts that the average working life of those in other employments does not as a rule exceed five years. That is to say that the majority of women wage-earners enter their trades between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and, before the age of twenty-six, far the larger proportion of the whole have married and abandoned all gainful occupation. The inference from these facts and figures is plain. The bulk of the sex devote their lives to the profession of housewifery and to the duties of wife and motherhood.

The aim of the educators of men is to prepare their pupils—after the general basis is laid—for the special work they will be called upon to perform in their maturity. When a boy's means and ambitions permit him to consider a learned profession he passes from college into a school of law, of medicine, or of theology. If his preference is for scientific or industrial pursuits there are schools of mining, engineering, electricity, special courses of biology, geology, and the like, where he can be best fitted for his chosen career. For the laboring classes there are provided equal facilities for learning trades. Manual training in all its branches and special trade schools increase in number and efficiency every year, so that it is now a boy's own fault if he has not acquired sufficient knowledge to enable him to earn his own living. It is well understood that not only must the boy have a general education, but a special preparation for his calling as well.

For those women who choose learned, scientific, or technical professions there are opportunities offered for good preliminary training; hardly so wide as are afforded their brothers, but sufficient for the earnest and ambitious. But for the great mass of women—the immense majority who find their lifework in the home—what is done to educate them for their profession of housewifery? In this respect they are not so well off as the previous generation. They, while learning less from books, were from their earliest years undergoing a careful apprenticeship in the home, and acquir-

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ing more knowledge than the women of "the higher education" give them credit for. Fifty years—a hundred years—ago, American women were the masters of a dozen different trades. The carding, weaving, spinning, dyeing, sewing, butter and cheese and lard making, canning, preserving, pickling, curing of meats, candle moulding, and manufacture of stockings—to-day trades representing enormous consolidations of labor and capital—were in the hands of the women in the households, and every girl, from the moment she could toddle about clinging to her mother's skirts, was learning the trade secrets of domestic manufactures. She had small time for the study of books, for, whether she served in the household or commanded, her labors were many, and required varied and exact knowledge.

The girl of to-day receives no home education. She enters the kindergarten with her little brothers, and later passes her days at a girls' school, young ladies' seminary or college, the household economy as unknown to her as if she were the dweller in a hotel. Her school training is very similar to that of her brothers, and in college her instructors can imagine nothing better than to offer her her brother's curriculum.

The broader and higher mental training of women is greatly increasing her general knowledge and ability, but men do not consider general information adequate preparation for the battle of life. General education is simply a development of the powers of the mind, fitting it to deal more ably with special matters, and though a great advance in the position and happiness of woman has followed her mental development, at the very moment when she has fitted herself to deal more effectively with special matters her education ceases.

With marriage she enters her life's calling absolutely unprepared by any special training. She may possess scholarly attainments, and all her powers be in the highest state of efficiency for good work, but she must begin in the humblest primary school of homemaking, and trust to her own wits and her own blunders to teach her what she must occupy herself with for the rest of her life. What would be thought of a sailor's undertaking the command of a vessel while grossly ignorant of the whole art of navigation? Yet thousands of women ship every day for the voyage of life, hardly knowing the names of the tools with which they are to work!

The female bird knows the art of nest-building perfectly, but the nest-building of even the university-bred woman she must leave perforce entirely in the hands of men. Despite the definite probability that nine girls out of ten will be called upon to govern a house, not one in ten thousand receives any instruction in the art of house-building. Schools for women never include in their curriculum a course in the history and practice of architecture, and the girl fresh from "the higher education of women" must trust herself helplessly in the hands of the properly trained man; unable to exact good service because she has not sufficient information upon the subject to know whether the plans for her house are beautiful and convenient or not. Yet in this nest she is to rear her brood and pass her life. Should her home be in the country, a man must be called in to lay out her grounds and gardens, make her lawn, and plant her trees. The higher education of woman takes no cognizance of landscape or practical gardening.

The plumber, for seven dollars a day and extras, condescends to lay on water and arrange the drainage of her house. The health and well-being, the very existence of those committed to her charge, depend upon this work being properly done, yet this wife and mother trusts all to

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a workman, in helpless, ignorant confidence; since her Greek has never been supplemented by any technical instruction in plumbing. Strangely enough, when whole families are destroyed by bad sewerage appliances, no one remembers to blame the incompetence of the housewife, whose life-work it is to guard the household from just such dangers.

When the house is to be furnished the college-bred woman is little likely to have been provided by her instructors with a knowledge of the history of furniture and the art of decoration such as would have trained her taste in lines germane to her needs, and made it a simple task to do her work in this direction easily and well. Yet this investment of her money is generally supposed to be for a generation at least, and in the home furnished by her her children are to receive their first impressions of beauty and art.

Those who serve are as ignorant as those who are served. Up to a certain age the mental training is similar, but the boys pass into trade schools or apprenticeships and receive accurate instructions as to their duties, while the mental development of the girls is not put to its natural use, and they are tumbled out into life only half equipped; stumbling, guessing, experimenting—a trial to their employers and continually at war with their own interests.

Children arrive and the "beautifully educated" mother is ignorant of most of the physiological laws bearing upon their well-being. She does not know or does not realize that the foundations of a constitution are laid in the first fifteen years of life—years for which she is responsible. She lacks that severe training in the chemistry of foods and cooking and general hygienic laws which would enable her to build up—as can be done by those who know how—a noble body capable of the best joys and uses of life. Upon her wise care, more than upon any other thing, the child must rely for the correction of unwholesome tendencies, which neglected may become chronic and spoil its whole life, yet nine women out of ten are pitiably ignorant of physiological laws and trust themselves in blind confidence to a physician—a man who, unlike them, has mastered the knowledge appertaining to his calling.

When all is said and done, the making of beautiful, healthful, and convenient homes and the rearing of honest, vigorous, happy citizens is woman's main duty, and, as statistics show, the bulk of the sex choose that duty and privilege before all others. Our sex, then, having had by nature a definite profession marked out for them, at which the majority must perforce labor, it is strange that with all the thought expended upon the subject of education there has been no practical effort made to equip women for their work, more especially as the welfare of the nations and the whole race depends far more upon her proper exercise of her calling than upon the labors of any lawyers, physicians, or miners whatsoever.

The highest human happiness is the sense of the power to do good work and be useful and valued in life. Education is not an end in itself. Its object, like that of all human effort, is happiness. The being whose powers are most highly developed, whose faculties are most perfectly trained, is the being most useful to himself and his fellows, and his labors are neither heavy nor fruitless. The race is to the mentally swift, the battle to the intellectually strong.

Why, then, should not public schools be provided with branches for training girls in the art of housewifery, since public good is to depend in so

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great measure upon the way in which these girls perform their duties? It is surely as important as the kindergarten, or the manual training for boys. The old practical rule-of-thumb apprenticeship of the household having passed away, something should replace it. Why should not schools for girls give courses of instruction in housewifery—not the mere cooking of chops or dusting of chairs—but instruction as to how houses should be made and furnished and their sanitation assured; in the chemistry of cooking, of foods, and of assimilation; in the laws of physiology and hygiene, and something about fundamental economics, of which the average woman is totally ignorant, though she is the spender and distributer of the money the men accumulate?

Why should not girls after finishing their collegiate course take those trained and developed intelligences back to the higher housewifery schools —as men go to schools of law—and put those powers to their legitimate use of acquiring with ease and completeness an equipment for their life's work? Why?

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

FREE COINAGE IN MEXICO.

A FEW days ago, while in the mint at the City of Mexico, I stopped to look at the final balances in which the Mexican silver dollar is weighed before it is turned loose upon the public. In one side of these balances is placed the weight the equal of which the silver dollar must contain; in the other, the dollar is placed. If they balance, the dollar is pronounced ready for circulation. If the dollar is lighter than the weight, it is cast aside.

I stopped the weigher for a moment, begging him to test the weight of a United States silver dollar by his balances. The United States dollar went up. It was lighter than the weight in the other side of the balances. It contained less silver than the Mexican dollar. A few minutes later, I went into a restaurant. The price of my dinner was just a dollar. I handed the cashier the United States silver dollar. He gave me back in change a Mexican silver dollar. Because of the difference, therefore, between the stamp of the United States and of the Republic of Mexico, I received a larger dollar than I gave and got my dinner besides.

This simple illustration is conclusive proof that the United States silver dollar, but for the stamp which gives it a fictitious value, is worth only half a dollar. The friends of free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of sixteen to one claim that the United States Government is so very rich and powerful that it can sustain, in unlimited number, this kind of dollar. The United States Government *is* very rich and powerful. It is so rich and powerful that it is now sustaining over four hundred and nineteen millions of standard silver dollars, more than one hundred and twenty-seven millions of uncoined bullion represented by treasury notes, and nearly seventy-seven millions of subsidiary silver—making a total stock of silver of six hundred and twenty-four millions—which, without its stamp guaranteeing redemption, would be worth but fifty cents on the dollar. Suppose, though, that it tried to sustain at par an unlimited number of such dollars. It would be only a question of time when the great United States Government would be ready for the hands of a receiver. Its dollars would then be worth by comparison with gold, like the Mexican dollars, only half a dollar each.

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Revert for a moment to the mint at the City of Mexico. If the United States should declare for free coinage, does any one think that this mint would coin any more dollars than the necessities of trade absolutely required? Certainly not. A large number of the fifty thousand dollars that it is now daily coining would be sent for coinage to the United States mints and would double their value at the United States' expense. The other mints in Mexico would also suspend, and the silver bullion that they are coining would be sent to the United States for coinage. Very few of the fifty million dollars now in circulation in Mexico would be spent in their present form. Practically every dollar bearing the Mexican stamp would be sent up to secure the stamp of the United States. The thirty odd million dollars' worth of silver bullion that is annually exported from Mexico would be sent to the mints of the United States to await coinage at double its present value. The United States would also have the pleasure of trying to coin seventeen million dollars' worth of silver bullion annually produced by Australasia, seven million dollars' worth produced by Germany, fifteen million dollars' worth produced by Bolivia, nearly three million dollars' worth produced by our friends the Chilians, and hoarded silver from every quarter. To coin all this bullion would be impossible. But enough would be coined to bring us to a silver basis, and this evil would be intensely aggravated by the scramble of the world's nations for precedence at the United States mints.

The condition of silver in Mexico is rendered worse by the fluctuations in its value. At Laredo, Tex., just across the Rio Grande from Mexico, I went into the "Bank of Laredo" to exchange United States for Mexican money. The cashier gave me eighty-eight cents premium. Another bank near by gave me ninety cents premium. The depot agent gave me ninety-two cents premium. The keeper of a lemonade stand received Mexican money at fifty per cent. discount; that is, when I gave him a Mexican dollar for a fifteen-cents glass of lemonade, he gave me back thirty-five cents in change—valuing my Mexican dollar at fifty cents, and pricing his lemonade in United States money. Many stores in Laredo and the eating-houses across the river in Mexico very cheerfully exchanged Mexican money for United States money at the rate of two for one. Mexican money is quoted in the market like wheat, or cotton, or sugar. It may go up any day or it may go down—most likely down. It is very noticeable, too, that when the price of money decreases, the price of products increases. The simplest illustration of this is in the eating-houses. In Texas, meals at the dining stations are fifty cents in United States money. Cross the Rio Grande into Mexico and the price of a dinner becomes a dollar. Cheap money also produces extravagance. When a dollar is worth but half a dollar, one spends it three times as quickly as when it is worth a dollar. A United States wit who was visiting Mexico said he never made money so fast as he made it there, because every time he spent a dollar he made a half. Acting on this idea, he struck the Mexican Monte Carlo and came away broke.

It is perfectly clear that the masses of Mexico—the laboring people—suffer most from their depreciated currency. They are never paid off in anything else. They never buy with anything else. The premium on good money over bad never comes to them. They pay premiums. They never get them. The exporters of Mexico who send abroad coffee, tea, hemp, hides, henequin, and tobacco get paid in foreign money, and make profits accordingly. The laborers who cultivate these products are paid in Mexican silver. And these laborers get a miserable pittance by comparison with the

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wages paid the laborers of the United States. The question of wages in Mexico was very ably discussed by Mr. Matias Romero, Mexico's excellent Minister to the United States, in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of January, 1892. According to Mr. Romero the minimum wages per day paid to laborers in the State of Hidalgo was twelve and a half cents; the maximum, thirty-seven and a half cents; the average, twenty-five cents. The State of Mexico, which adjoins the district in which the City of Mexico is located, duplicated the wages of Hidalgo. The minimum for the State of San Luis Potosi, one of the best known in the republic, was eighteen and three-fourths cents; the maximum twenty-five cents; the average twenty-two and one-fourth cents. The State of Sonora, where wages are considerably higher than in any other, paid a minimum of thirty cents a day; a maximum of a dollar a day; an average of sixty-five cents. The general average of all the States, according to Mr. Romero's table, shows a minimum of twenty-three and a half cents; a maximum of fifty cents; an average of thirty-six cents. These wages, remember, are paid in Mexican money, which is worth only half as much as United States money. This condition does not suggest any reason why the laboring people should demand free coinage of silver.

All friends of silver regret its depreciation in value. But in considering the policy which the United States should pursue in regard to it, we must face "a condition and not a theory." The leading countries of the world have quit coining silver. We cannot undertake to coin their silver for them.

The greatest reason for the reduction in the price of the metal is the increase in its production. In 1873 the world's production of silver was estimated at $81,800,000. In 1892 it was estimated at $196,605,000. This shows an increase in annual supply in twenty years of over 140 per cent. An increase in production of 140 per cent. is a very fair reason for a decrease in market value of 100 per cent. The growth in population, to be sure, has tended to increase the demand for silver, but this has been offset by modern facilities for doing business by means of checks, railroads, and telegraph wires.

All earnest bimetallists are anxious for the day when silver can be circulated around the world, at a reasonable ratio, on a parity with gold. It is fortunate that the United States now recognizes bimetallism by circulating over $600,000,000 in silver and notes representing it. Not a dollar of this $600,000,000 is demonetized. Every dollar of it, by the friendliness of the Government, circulates at par just as well as if it contained a dollar's worth of silver instead of fifty cents' worth. But the United States cannot carry this kind of dollar in unlimited number.

When the balance of the world will join with us in recognizing silver currency as equal to gold, when a ratio can be so adjusted that we can keep silver in unlimited quantity on a parity with gold, or when any safeguards of legislation shall insure this parity—that moment our mints should be opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It now appears that the shortest road to this much desired consummation is by the coöperation of the leading nations of the world—a coöperation that will result from reduced restrictions upon trade and consequent increase of international commerce. The longest and most difficult road would be by following the plan of Hon. Thomas B. Reed in seeking to couple the evil of free coinage under present conditions with the greater evil of protection.

CLAUDE N. BENNETT.

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FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF CITY NOISES.

Is IT possible and expedient to organize a society in New York and every large American city for the suppression of unnecessary noise? We have organizations for the suppression of vice, of poverty, of cruelty, the discouragement of tipping, "treating," and other evils and pernicious habits, and why have we no society for the suppression of noise?

Noise constitutes one of the evils under which civilized man suffers much harm without recognizing the real root of the trouble, and the man of the future will protect himself against noise as he now does against malaria, fever germs, and other insidious evils that have only lately been recognized as the source of untold harm. The happy, peaceful expression of deaf persons has long been observed and commented upon; but as yet no one, so far as I know, has traced their contentment to the fact that they are free from one of the curses of ordinary life—noise. Country life is commonly considered to be more healthful than that of the city because of its purer air and better water. There is, of course, much in this, although I doubt whether the air that blows across great cities is unwholesome, and certainly city water is better than that of countless wells more or less polluted. The real secret of the greater endurance and longer life of the man who lives in the country is that he is not subjected to the ceaseless noises of the city that keep the nerves constantly on the alert. The mediæval torture which consisted in keeping a man awake till he died is said to have been the most horrible devised by monsters peculiarly expert at that sort of thing. I never realized its true atrocity until these last few years, during which I have been robbed of sleep, peace, and happiness, comparatively speaking, by the din in which fate has cast me. We are said to be entitled to the pursuit of happiness. How can we be happy when the nerves are kept jangling day after day and night after night? Perhaps I may be considered extravagant in my hatred of noise. It is not extravagance, but simply an acute realization of this growing evil that with years acquires new terrors.

In all probability the original use of the sense of hearing was to enable man and animals to perceive the approach of danger and thus avoid it. Nature gave the savage from whom we descend a sense of smell that he might avoid the unhealthy neighborhood of putrescent matter, and the sense of hearing that he might know when his enemies or the storm were coming. To primitive man noise meant danger. Therefore when the savage heard a noise, whether it was the loud roar of the tempest, the sweep of the avalanche, or the soft approach of the foe at night, he put himself on guard. Noise awakened all his energies; it had a quality of terror in it, and it still has this quality—for me. In the Chinese army the troops used to shout at the top of their lungs when they attacked, in order to terrify their enemies; and when both sides yelled together the effect of the din has been described by Europeans as appalling. It is true that civilized man is no longer so acutely affected by noise; but it still acts as an irritant, and the time will come when its deleterious effect will be recognized. Even in children—and children are supposed to enjoy noise of the most maddening kinds—I can see the growing appreciation of silence. A few months ago, when we escaped for a while from the din of the town to the quiet hamlet where I yearly recruit my noise-shattered nerves, my little girl of seven said on our first evening in the country, "Isn't it nice to listen to the silence?"

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The advance of the savage towards civilization is marked by the abatement of noise. The more savage the tribe the more noise it requires. One of the great clock manufacturers of this country is said to make a certain cheap clock with a particularly loud and aggressive tick, for export to the South Sea Islands; the natives will have no other kind—the louder the tick the better the clock. We are beyond that—some of us—but we do sanction an amount of noise that Paris or London would sternly suppress. From time to time there is a protest. I reverence Webster for his rebuke to a gabbling barber who asked him how he would like to be shaved: "In silence," said the great man. But as a nation we tolerate an amount of senseless, aggravating din that we should have outgrown a century ago. Our idea of a popular rejoicing and celebration is still the Chinese one—lots of noise. Our Fourth of July is made hideous by Chinese fire-crackers and other exploding devices. Sensitive and sensible people shudder, and, as becomes the most long-suffering nation on earth, we allow it to go on year after year, those who can getting away from civilization, so called, on that glorious day. Again, our fashion of ushering in the new year is to ring all the bells of the town for half an hour, let all the steam whistles screech till steam runs low in the boilers, and fire off any guns or pistols that may be handy.

The noise made by the rattle of vehicles over bad pavements I suppose we must put up with for the present. Paris and London have lessened that nuisance by the introduction of wood and asphalt pavements; but Paris has also put a tax on pianos and realizes the value of silence. I suppose that some day we shall have asphalt or wood everywhere—but not in our day. In the mean time, some form of wheel tire of wood, rubber, or cement might perhaps be devised that would lessen the noise. I do not suppose that the use of such tires, provided they could be made, could be made obligatory in the present low state of public opinion concerning noise, but an organization such as I have in mind might at least discuss the ways and means. With regard to other street noises, there is absolutely nothing to be said in their defence. Street music of all kinds—hand organs, piano organs, brass bands, singing, the cries of pedlars and hucksters—these are the things that no civilized community ought to tolerate. At five o'clock, A. M., the din begins, the milk wagons making their rounds and rattling their cans. This, however, I can forgive, and I bear no hard feeling for being waked up six or eight times every morning by the milk wagons. But about seven o'clock the hucksters appear—the rag men, the old clothes men, bottle men, and other members of this vile fraternity. I have been waked up eleven times in one morning by these miscreants. Along with them come the pedlars of various fruits in their season. My street is not a frequented thoroughfare; there are no cars running through it, and I do not suppose that it is more noisy than most downtown streets near Broadway. But when I have been waked up for the twentieth time I begin to believe that all the lusty, leather-lunged shouters of the city are in league to keep me from getting any sleep. The torture of the man who was kept awake till he died begins to assume new meanings. About noon the music begins. Is there anything more doleful, mournful, heart-rendering than this street music? If ever I am driven to suicide, by noise, it will be after an hour of "Silver Threads Among the Gold" upon an organ at one end of the block, together with "Hear me! Norma!" upon an organ at the other end. If I have had occasion in the last twenty years

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to make what the champions of Italian music consider vicious and uncalled for attacks upon Verdi and Bellini, "*Il Trovatore*" and "Hear me! Norma!" as interpreted by the several million organs that have played for me are responsible. "Here me! Norma!" is innocent enough as music. It is watery stuff; but its endless repetition has upon me the same effect as the drops of water upon the head of the criminal who finally died of the torture. Verdi's biographer, Pougin, says that when Verdi settles in his country place every summer, he hires all the hand-organs within twenty miles, and locks them up for six months. It is not all of us who can afford such protection against our misdeeds. Personally, my only remedy against the hand-organ is to send a servant or one of my children out to the musician and beg him to stop, in mercy to a sick person. I am that sick person, and I am sick. In London the householder has the right to order the street musician to move away from before his premises; but this affords little relief unless there is concerted action upon the part of the residents of a neighborhood. In Brazil, a street musician must receive the consent of the man before whose door he wants to grind.

There may be noises more irritating than hand organs, but if so I have had the good fortune to escape them. Goethe objected particularly to the barking of dogs, but their yelping is a trifle as compared to hand organs. Schopenhauer, in his essay, "*Ueber Lerm und Gerausch*" (On Noise and Din says that the sharp cracking of whips was the most painful noise he knew.) He never heard "Silver Threads Among the Gold." He never heard the young hoodlums of our American cities shout their "extras" in the dead of night. A story is told that in the olden times every one in the world agreed to shout at the same moment, so that it might be found how great a noise could be produced. The eventful moment arrived and was marked by a silence such as the world had never known before. Every one had listened to hear the rest of the world shout. Nowadays it is all the other way—every one shouts; no one listens. Science tells that nothing is lost. Even endless grindings of "Silver Threads" and "Comrades" and "After the Ball" are to go echoing down the ages, disturbing the artistic equilibrium of things.

To come back to my beginning, can some organization not be formed to protect us against some of this unceasing din? Such a society might influence local legislation against street music and cries. It might offer prizes for better pavements and better tires for wheels, and in every way keep up a campaign against noise. Every American city ought to have its Society for the Suppression of Noise. I am ready with work and a liberal subscription in aid of such a movement in my own neighborhood.

PHILIP G. HUBERT, JR.

PROLONGING LIFE.

THE desire to live long and carefully postpone the inevitable packing up for the other world, as it is termed, is a perfectly natural feeling. Ambitious hopes and centenarian proclivities are commendable in the aged and laudable even in the young. In all records of longevity, in all histories of centenarianism that have been written, and in all investigations of a scientific character that have been made, there is no mention of a man of one hundred years or upwards having committed suicide. The longer peo-

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ple live the longer they wish to live. Some writers on the subject endeavor to prove that centenarians are like poets, born—not made. On the other side, there is just as much argument and evidence to prove the contrary. William Shakespeare seems to have been born a poet, but there is no testimony tending to show that the gift was hereditary. And when the enemies of longevity write upon this topic, they always attempt to make it appear that some really exceptional qualities were inherited by the lucky individual from his parents or ancestors and give him very little credit for his own good traits. Of course, a good constitution and regular habits in early life are much to start with in the race, but many people so endowed do not reach ninety years of age, even.

Women appear to have an advantage over men in long living. Statistics recently collected by Prof. Humphry, of England, in his work on "Old Age," show that, as usual, in records of longevity the women preponderate over the men in spite of many disadvantages they have to contend with, such as the dangers incidental to child-bearing and diseases associated therewith. He attributes this to the comparative immunity of woman from many exposures and risks to which man is subject. Temperance in eating and drinking, also freedom from anxieties in reference to labor and business, are on the side of the female sex. No woman writer has yet taken up the subject, I believe, which seems odd as female physicians are now a necessity of modern times. It has been often stated, and is probably true, that the principal authors on the subject of longevity have been physicians, who as a rule do not reach the standard in age of the average man. Galen is said to have lived to his 140th year, but the statement is not credited nowadays. Hippocrates died at 104, which was not doing any better than many day laborers of our times. Rochefoucauld, that wise and observant Frenchman, said that "Few people know how to be old," he, perhaps, thinking himself one of them, though he died at the age of 67.

In some of its aspects nothing seems to be more capricious and eccentric than the law in regard to longevity. First-born children and also those born out of wedlock were formerly believed to be more likely to live longer than any other. The offspring of centenarians, if they would only intermarry with their class, might in time surpass all other people in length of years. But if human beings will not take the trouble that the careful breeders of horses and other mere animals do, they cannot expect to go much over a century.

Poor people too were classed as favored in this respect, and we find Sir William Temple stating that health and long life were usually the blessings of the poor. Now the tables prepared by Dr. Humphry afford many curious facts bearing on this subject in Great Britain. Most men of one hundred years and over were of medium height, though the well-known and generous Jew, Sir Moses Montefiore, was six feet three inches, and lived to the age of 102 years. Nearly one-fourth of the 824 cases reported by Dr. Humphry, in which the persons had arrived at eighty or a hundred years, were first-born children, one-half of these of easy, placid dispositions, not given to worrying and fretting about things, not anxious to reform the world, and about one-third poor people. They do not have a monopoly of long life, however, for a little over half of the 824 were persons in comfortable circumstances. In this same collection, one-third were small eaters, about two-thirds moderate eaters, and only one-tenth large eaters. As for marriage having any effect on women, it seems that the unmarried ones

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have as good a chance as the married. Some writers think that marriage, on the contrary, has a tendency to make men live longer, though it may not affect women. Hahnemann, the founder of the homœopathic school of medicine, married at 80, and was an active worker and enjoyer of life up to 90. The late Sir Henry Holland excelled in horsemanship at 84.

Exercise of a physical character, and also intellectual occupations, contribute to give variety to life and promote longevity, though one should be careful not to indulge in excesses in either line of recreation. Commonly received opinions are to the effect that centenarians have few pleasures. Sarah White, a widow, who died at 101, at Pershore, is reported by Dr. Smith, in his letter to Prof. Humphry, to have danced and sung on her 101st birthday anniversary. Her digestion and appetite were good, and it saddens the social philosopher to think that if Sarah had not indulged in this terpsichorean revelry she might have lived many years longer. She was an early riser, like almost all centenarians, drank beer occasionally (that probably was the cause of the dancing), but did not smoke nor take snuff.

Exemption from many of the ills of younger people is one of the compensating advantages of advancing years. Dr. Humphry states that the aged body does not seem to be so prone to disease as he had expected before his investigations. Few returns indicated any special malady. Cancers, even, when they attack the aged, usually make very slow progress, and often fail to make way at all. Susceptibility to contagious disease appears to decrease from infancy to old age. In the *British Medical Journal* of 12th July, 1884, it is stated that the healing of ulcers and the repair of wounds and fractures in old people take place as rapidly as in middle life, often more so. Qualities that lead to extreme length of years are (as might have been expected) a well made frame of average stature, spare rather than stout, good health, robust constitution, freedom from ailments, few or no doctors' bills, good digestion, good appetite with little need of animal food, no consumption of alcoholic beverages, and the habit of sleeping well and early rising. Most people know all these things just as well as the centenarian, but they ignore or neglect them and then die. It was Sir Walter Scott who wrote of "the sublime and delectable pleasure of being well." Repinings and moanings, sometimes mixed with cheap moralizings about the barrenness of life, usually come from sad-visaged, whining dyspeptics, who do not really know what wholesome, healthy human life is at its best. They are anxious for a change of some kind and so they write essays and poems, and can be "as sad as night only for wantonness," like the young gentleman Prince Arthur met in France. They sigh for a rest in some quiet grave, some lonely churchyard, and hope to reach it soon, and the reading public hope they will. One of the finest of Edgar Poe's poems is marred in the last stanza by the loathsome longing of a lusty lover (Poe was fond of alliteration) to lie down by the side of a dead bride in a sepulchre by the sounding sea, etc. Poe, like Byron, Burns, and Raphael, died between thirty-six and forty. If one has genius, he cannot expect longevity, it seems. Nature does not aggregate her benefits, but scatters her best gifts.

Perhaps people are not so much to blame after all if they do not like life when they are generally ill. It is those who tingle to the finger tips with the ecstasy of mere physical existence to whom the world beyond the Black Curtain presents no attractions. The old legend of the Wandering Jew has been looked upon as a remarkably sad story. But why so? He was said

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to have been punished by being ordered to remain on earth. To live for centuries in this world, where you are pretty well acquainted, enjoy good health, and have plenty of money, is surely better than dying and running the risk of going to some place that you don't know anything about, and concerning which you cannot get any trustworthy information. Dying, when you look at it from a strictly scientific point of view, is a very dangerous experiment. Oh, life is so sad, so monotonous, it is urged—perhaps to some people; but death is a good deal more monotonous.

We will now return to our muttons, of which persons desiring to reach the very finest quality of old age will take very little or none.

An English novelist, who writes for *The Illustrated London News*, in commenting on my essay on the art of living as long as you can, seems inexpressibly saddened. Two hundred years! "This is alarming to those who have had enough of it after threescore and ten," he exclaims. And then he wants to know what men are to do in the second century, and blames the writer for not suggesting some occupation for them. Does he suppose I am going to open an employment office for centenarians? If a man is told (no fee demanded) that if he follows certain suggestions he may reach the age of two hundred years, or one hundred and fifty, or even one hundred, he need not take the whole course if he has not a stomach for it. At a hundred he may sigh for a quiet spot and ring for a doctor and a hearse. Neither need he make such ado about being deprived of roast beef. He will have the exquisite urbanity to remember that according to M. Du Chaillu the gorillas, the most manlike of all the African or Asian apes, even to their teeth, are strict vegetarians, living on fruits and nuts entirely, and a stronger, braver, and bolder fellow does not tread the soil of Africa than a well-born gorilla of the best breeds. Eating dead hogs and cattle and poor innocent sheep may be the test of high and florid civilization, but it is not at all necessary to the cult of centenarianism. All Professor Humphry's choicest specimens, as he tells us (and I think Sir Geo. Murray Humphry, M. D., F. R. S., is rather proud of it too), were small meat eaters. However, I do not insist on a strict vegetarian and fruit diet. Adam and Eve tried it, and sin and death are said to have entered the world by reason of that particular "fruit" of which they were told to try a sample. We may leave the rest to the theologians, Professor Humphry, and Mr. Grant Allen, the latter of whom, in a late magazine article, objects to earth burial and seems to prefer being burned after death. Perhaps he may be gratified. To return again to our muttons. The English novelist referred to previously must be getting old, too old to read small print and profit by my suggestions, for he quotes from THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that I recommend two or three "*thimblefuls*" of distilled water, when it was plainly printed "tumblerfuls."

Diluted phosphoric acid was suggested, the word diluted being carefully omitted—English fair play! If he will refer to the Bible he will find that it is nowhere stated that Adam and Eve ate apples, but the "fruit" of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Neither did Job live 150 years after his troubles, as he says, but only 140. Before Job's diabolical experiences he had married and had seven sons and three daughters, so that he must have been about 200 when he died. As to his marrying again and having a second supply of seven sons and three daughters, I find no record of it. Some "young men" were killed in the first chapter, but the sons and daughters mentioned in the last chapter are evidently the original stock. Mrs. Job was not amiable, but she

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was no doubt a respectable centenarian. Job's history was translated by the English, and not by the Americans, and the same gentlemen state that Adam lived 930 years! The English may have made some mistakes just as the novelist did, in reference to "fruit" and the domestic trials of the patriarch. Nothing helps so much in undertaking a course of training for longevity as a strict diurnal use of the truth. What would science be without it? Galileo is the only scientist who ever saved his life by economy in the use of it. Considering the very peculiar circumstances at Rome in 1633, Galileo has been long since excused and forgiven, for he was seventy years old, broken by disease, and in dread of Inquisition horrors. As many have wondered what was to be eaten if foods heavy with nitrogenous elements are to be prohibited, it may instruct us to know what that eminent French chemist, who lived to be over 100, Monsieur Chevreul, was in the habit of taking in his latter years.

In the London *Times* of September 1, 1888, it was stated that Monsieur Chevreul had entered his 103d year. His health was then excellent; he eats and drinks heartily, sleeps well, drives daily in a one-horse chaise. (Let no frivolous joker here assert that Monsieur Chevreul was only a "one horse" centenarian.) He rises early, takes a plate of soup, goes to bed again and sleeps till noon, then breakfasts off two eggs and minced meat, at four takes a bowl of milk and two biscuits, lies down again for two hours, then has another plate of soup and goes to bed for the night. On September 4, 1888, he visited the Sanitary Exhibition in Paris and arm-in-arm with a friend he mounted the stairs and walked all through the Exhibition.

From which it seems that because a man is 103 years old he need not sit up in a chimney corner and fret, as so many people we know do when they are not more than 60 or 70. It may be said this report of *The Times* shows the old gentleman used to eat minced meat, and there is no mention of his having used distilled water or diluted phosphoric acid. All of this is true, but if Monsieur Chevreul had only used distilled water, say three tumblerfuls a day, with ten or fifteen drops of diluted phosphoric acid in each (it is not at all unpleasant to take) he might have been alive yet. He is now dead. Only a centenarian can presume to say that the daily use of water loaded with carbonate of lime and other earthy salts is not injurious to the human system. In early life protein food—that is, food of a nitrogeneous character—is necessary to build up the muscles and bones.

But in old age one is apt to get too much of the nitrogenous substance in food, which has a tendency to overload the blood with earthy salts, and thus clog and impede the action of the heart and arteries. Distilled water prevents bad secretions, and, by its affinity for oxygen, fibrinous and gelatinous deposits are eliminated. It is also useful in checking the formation of stone in the bladder and kidneys. Most people at first think distilled water very insipid. It may be admitted that it has not the peculiar, pungent original flavor of Limberger cheese. But think of the atrocious mixtures of the doctors. A table of all the various kinds of foods and fruits that are deficient in excessive nitrogenous compounds, and thus suitable for people of sixty and upwards, will be prepared shortly and submitted to the public who prefer to take precaution in lieu of pills. Nearly every American will confess that we eat too much meat. If a diet of various savory fruits were more indulged in, there would be just as much work done, and the doctors would not live in such fine houses. In the next century physicians will perhaps be paid salaries for keeping people in good

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health, not for drugging them out of disease. Some writers on longevity have discussed the subject of marrying widows in contra-distinction to maidens. Not having been able to examine any statistical groupings of figures on this delicate topic, it is not possible to express an opinion. If any modern government has instructed its census-takers to collect such facts, I have not seen them. So that whether marrying widows has any influence in prolonging a man's life or shortening it is still an open question.

In concluding, however, it may be stated that two of the greatest men of modern times, Washington and the First Napoleon, both married widows. One of them got a divorce and survived his spouse several years; the other died before his wife.

As according to Professor Huxley—but let him speak for himself: "Whatever part of the animal structure, whether series of muscles or viscera, we select as a basis of comparison, the result is the same. The lower monkeys and the gorilla differ far more widely than do the gorilla and man." Hence the grand contention that if man would return to his primitive food condition, and eat such things as the gorilla does, nuts and fruits and no flesh (see what enormous strength he has!) it would be better for man. He would be healthier, stronger, and consequently live longer. Professor Garner, who has just been living (1893) among these curious creatures and collecting by phonograph specimens of their language, may, perhaps, be able to tell us something more of their dietary habits than Monsieur Du Chaillu. At all events it is an indisputable fact that the gorilla is larger and stronger than any man. However, the opponents of the nut and fruit theory will say (of course they will) that he gets excess of physique by a sacrifice of brain and personal beauty. A gorilla is not handsome, it must be admitted, and he can't write books. Whether any of them ever live to be a hundred years old we may never know unless Professor Garner's phonograph shall inform us.

Sir James Crichton Browne, M. D., LL. D., F. R. S., in his address on "Old Age," published in the *British Medical Journal*, October 3, 1891, seems to think that "Flourens' conclusion that man is entitled to a century of existence was, it must be maintained, substantially correct. Buffon thought that the duration of life was six or seven times that of growth. Hufeland thought eight times. It is probably about five times. In the good days coming, when sanitary wisdom shall prevail, numbers of our species may be able to count on a round hundred years of wholesome, happy life, and an old age, tranquil and interesting, unmarred by the morbid accessories which are now generally attached to it." Let us all hope Sir James may live to see the good days coming!

WILLIAM KINNEAR.

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